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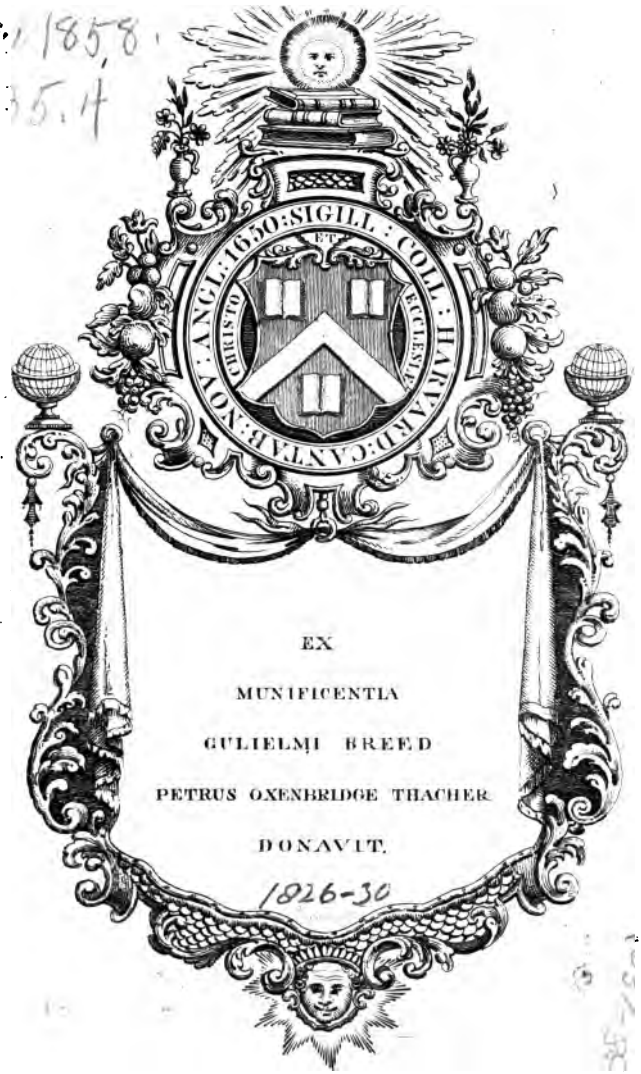

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Mrs Lucy Hutchinson.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, Paternoster Row, June 1810.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON,

GOVERNOR OF NOTTINGHAM CASTLE AND TOWN,

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE LONG PARLIAMENT, AND OF THE TOWN OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF CHARLES II. ETC.

WITH

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF MANY OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES,

AND

A Summary Review of Public Affairs:

WRITTEN BY

HIS WIDOW LUCY,

DAUGHTER OF SIR ALLEN APSLEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER, ETC.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

By the Rev. JULIUS HUTCHINSON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF;

A FRAGMENT.

VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES,

THESE MEMOIRS

ARE,

WITH PERMISSION,

HUMBLY DEDICATED,

IN TESTIMONY OF

RESPECT FOR HIS EXALTED CHARACTER,

AND OF GRATITUDE FOR

HIS PAST AND PRESENT CONDESCENSIONS,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT,

AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

THE Editor of this work, after having seen two pretty large impressions of it in quarto, speedily absorbed by the public curiosity and taste, having received the applause and thanks of nearly all the most respectable [a] Reviewers, and been called upon by several of them to produce it in a form better suited to the convenience of the generality of readers, comes forward with pleasure, and even exultation, to comply with this demand, by the publication of an octavo edition. But it is hoped that a discerning public will perceive that his veneration for those who are the subjects of the history, and the liberality of that respectable house who are the publishers, have led them to study an elegant rather than a sordid œconomy; fresh and highly finished embellishments and a new type being given. By both the editor and the publishers the point of interest has been considered as secondary to the satisfaction and credit of giving to the community, at a convenient price, a work

[a] Censura Literaria, Annual, Monthly, Critical, Eclectic, Oxford, Political, and Edinburgh Reviews.

which, while it gratifies curiosity, communicates information, and delights the taste, exhibits the human character, and especially the British, at the highest pitch of excellence, which reason and nature admit; yet shews such a plain and open path to the attainment of that excellence, as may inspire all with the hope and the desire of reaching it themselves.

The consideration that the book will now be likely to get into the hands of the middle classes of society, would make it peculiarly improper to follow the admonitions of two reviewers; which were, to garble and take out of it a large part, in which persons are made to figure certainly somewhat below that *heroic stature*, which some deem necessary to the dignity of history, but which no one would esteem below the standard of biography.

It would indeed require more than an ordinary degree of credulity to believe that they advised with the *best good faith*, for though both have yielded full, though apparently rather reluctant, homage to Mrs. Hutchinson's merits, yet the first, the Critical Reviewer, assailed the editor with a good deal of coarse sarcasm; and, in order to prove that he was guilty of faulty punctuation, extracted pretty large quotations, in which so considerable a variation was made from the original words as totally to alter the sense. The se-

cond, the Edinburgh Reviewer, after waiting, *certainly to give a mature opinion*, till the whole of one large edition, and the half of a second, were sold, recognized the talent of the writer and the value of the history; but attacked the editor with a malignity and injustice, which fortunately were neutralized by their absurdity, accusing him of garnishing the text with notes that are incongruous, in order to obtain preferment; evidently in total ignorance of his age and situation, and to the no small amusement of those who know both. But these notes the reviewer was forced to feign, because he could not find them; in the same manner as he has done sentiments which he attributes to the author, whom he in vain endeavours to make speak the language of his party; the very inverse of which is therefore noticed at page 7, note [b], of this edition.

The same writer, with equal consistency, recommends the omitting many pages which, in his vulgar phrase, he says, treat of *parish business*; yet from these very pages quotes some of the best and most brilliant passages in the work. It has then been determined to present the whole a[illegible] before an approving public, unmutilated and unchanged; retaining even the original preface, because the very judicious writer of the Monthly Review, although he considers it as needlessly apologetic, still admits it to give a candid view of the narrative, and of the work in

general; for which reason, and for the sake of the collateral and ulterior information which it contains respecting persons and things mentioned in the story, it will probably accompany all future editions. All the industry of the editor having been exerted to obtain correctness and give information or illustration in the two former editions, he must acknowledge it to be out of his power to give any fresh amelioration to this; he therefore concludes, with expressing a confident hope, that in their present or a similar dress, the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson will, long after he has ceased to be conscious of the satisfaction arising from it, continue to do honour to his country, and to benefit the hearts and the heads of his countrymen.

and as this lady dwelt in splendor at Nottingham, and had ample means of information; as there is only one instance wherein the veracity of the biographer is at all called in question, and even in this, it does not appear to the editor, and probably may not to the reader, that there was sufficient ground for objection; the opposition and the acquiescence of her grandson and herself seem alike to confirm the authenticity and faithfulness of the narrative.

There will be found annexed a pedigree of the family of Hutchinson, taken from a very handsomely emblazoned genealogy in the possession of the editor, originally traced by Henry St. George, King of Arms, continued and embellished by Thomas Brand, Esq. his majesty's writer and embellisher of letters to the eastern princess, anno 1712, and brought down to the present day from family records.

This pedigree shews that Col. Hutchinson left four sons, of which the youngest only, John, left issue two sons; and there is a tradition in the family, that these two last descendants of Col. Hutchinson emigrated, the one to the West Indies or America, the other to Russia; the latter is said to have gone out with the command of a ship of war given by Queen Anne to the Czar Peter, and to have been lost at sea. One of the female descendants of the former the editor once met with

of when she came to write the Life of Colonel Hutchinson. 3d. A Fragment, giving an account of the early part of her own life. This book clearly appears to have been Mrs. Hutchinson's first essay at composition, and contains, besides the story of her life and family, several short copies of verses, some finished, some unfinished, many of which are above mediocrity. And, 4th, Two Books treating entirely of religious subjects; in which, although the fancy may be rather too much indulged, the judgment still maintains the ascendancy; and sentiments of exalted piety, liberality, and benevolence are delivered in terms apposite, dignified, and perspicuous.

These works had all been read, and marked in several places with his initials, by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, the father of the late Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. just mentioned, and son of Charles Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife, the Lady Catharine Stanhope. Lady Catharine Hutchinson lived to the age of 102, and is reported to have retained her faculties to the end of her [a] life. Some remarks made by the above-mentioned Julius Hutchinson, which will be found in their proper places in the body of the work, are declared by him to have been communicated by his grandmother, Lady Catharine;

[a] The editor has a very fine portrait of her, taken at the age of 90.

by accident at Portsmouth, and she spoke with great warmth of the veneration in which his descendants in the new world held the memory of their ancestor Col. Hutchinson. Of the daughters little more is known than that Mrs. Hutchinson, addressing one of her books of devotion to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, ascertains that one of them was married to a gentleman of that name.

The family of Mr. George Hutchinson, likewise became extinct in the second generation.

Charles Hutchinson, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by Lady Catharine Stanhope, married one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir Francis Boteler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts; which family being zealous royalists, and he solicitous to gain their favour, (which he did so effectually, as in the end to obtain nearly their whole inheritance), it is probable that he gave small encouragement or assistance to the elder branch of the family while they suffered for their republican sentiments; on the contrary, it is certain that he purchased of Mrs. Hutchinson and her son, after the death of Col. Hutchinson, their estate at Owthorpe, which joined to what his father had given him, and what he obtained by his marriage, raised him to more opulence than his father had ever possessed; and he seems not to have fallen short of him in popularity, for he represented the town of Nottingham in parlia-

ment from the year 1690, (being the first general election after the accession of King William), till his death.

His son Julius returned into that line of conduct and connections which was most natural for one of his descent, for he married Betty, daughter of Col. Norton of Wellow, of the well-known patriotic family of that name in Hampshire, and whose mother was a Fiennes. He seems to have bestowed a very rational and well-deserved attention upon the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and there is a tradition in the family, that although he had many children of his own, he treated with kindness and liberality the last descendants of his uncle, and assisted them with money to fit them out for their emigration. The editor has seen a written memorandum of his, expressing his regret at hearing no more of them after their departure.

From the circumstance of these, the only grandchildren of Col. Hutchinson, standing in need of this pecuniary assistance, from the mention Mrs. Hutchinson makes of her husband's debts, and from an expression contained in that book which she addresses to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, desiring her not to despise her advice, though she sees her in adversity, it is highly probable that, even after selling her husband's estates, the sum to be divided left each member of the family in strait circumstances.

The affection and well-merited esteem with

which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of her brother, Sir Allen Apsley, will excite an interest in the reader to know what became of him and his posterity: the short pedigree subjoined will shew, that by two marriages, and by the death of his grandson in his minority, the family of Apsley entirely merged in the noble family of Bathurst, who have adopted the name Apsley as their second title; there are five or six of the family of Apsley entombed in Westminster Abbey, near to the entrance of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

Having traced the manuscript from the hands of the writer to those of the editor, in such a manner as to establish its authenticity beyond all doubt; the next, and that not a less important point, is to remove those objections which may be raised against the tendency of a work of this nature, and to shew that the assumption of any evil tendency is groundless.

That avowed predilection for a republican government, which is conspicuous in this history, as it was in the lives of the persons who are the principal subjects of it, may perhaps give a momentary alarum; but a little reflection will dissipate it. At the time when Col. Hutchinson first entered on the great theatre of life, the contest was just begun between the partizans of the divine right of the sovereign, and the indispensable obligation of the subject to passive obedience and non-resistance, on one side; and the assertors

of the claims of the people to command, through their representatives, the public purse, of the freedom of debate in parliament, and of the responsibility of ministers, on the other. When the sword, the *Ratio Ultima Regum*, the *last appeal of kings*, was resorted to by the former, and the latter gained the victory, they very naturally adopted the republican system, as concluding, that persons holding such opinions as the princes of the House of Stuart and their adherents did, would never concede to them their franchises, but with a full intention to resume them, whenever they should recover power enough to attempt it with success. The event fully justified this [b] conclusion, and it is now evident to all, that the only thing which could ever give this nation permanent tranquillity, and put an end to those heartburnings which either openly or covertly had existed even from the time of the Norman conquest, was an explicit compact between king and people, which took its date indeed from the revolution in 1688, but obtained its consummation at the fortunate accession of the house of Brunswick, when the title of the monarch, and the rights of the people, became identified and established on one common basis. Of this truly may be said,

Quod optanti Divum permittere nemo
Audèret, volvenda dies en attulit ultrò.
What to his vot'ry not a God dared promise,
Revolving years spontaneously produc'd.

[b] In the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

No one will pretend that such an occasion was within the reach of human foresight; of course the only remedy then attainable was applied to the disorder of the state. Upon a fair review of the contest it will be seen that what the Tory and the Courtier of the present day, the friend or even the flatterer of kingly power, admits as axioms, were the grand desiderata of the Whig and the Patriot of those times, and that what were then cried out upon as daring encroachments now pass as the most moderate and unquestioned claims. Not to deceive ourselves then with words, nor attach our minds to names instead of things, although the government under which we prosper be termed Imperial; yet the greater part of the legislative power resting with the people and the executive being vested in a chief magistrate, who is under so many limitations that he seems placed in that situation very much more for the common weal, the public benefit, than his own ease or advantage, it must be allowed to come up to Col. Hutchinson's favourite idea of a republic for all beneficial purposes, and would assuredly be not less acceptable to him, for that the hereditary succession would be found to repress that effervescence of individual ambition which it was the study and the labour of his life to keep down. Possessing himself, but finding not in others, the virtue worthy of and essential to a republic, he would gladly have taken shelter under a well-li-

mited monarchy, and of such a one he would unquestionably have been a loyal subject, a vigorous assertor.

The Puritanism which appears in the story, and actuated the conduct of Col. Hutchinson all through life, may be accounted for on almost a similar ground with his predilection for a republic.

The puritanic turn of thought and style of expression had been adopted by the vindicators of religious freedom and right of inquiry, with whom the champions of civil liberty naturally made common cause. Divinity as a science was a study then in vogue, and seems to have tinctured the conversations and writings of the greater part of society. [c] In this Mr. Hutchinson had been encouraged by his father, whose library subsisted at his family seat of Owthorpe till about the year 1755, and contained a vast number of folio volumes of polemical divinity. A study environed with many dangers! and which led Col. Hutchinson into whatever errors he was guilty of. On another hand, the ministers of the esta-

[c] From the practice of dragging religion, or religious phraseology, into the service of politics, none, not even the king, was exempt, who, making a speech to his small army in the year 1642, to animate them, tells them they will have none to encounter but rebels, most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists!* who would destroy both church and commonwealth.

blished church in those times preached up the prerogative in all its extravagance, and endeavoured to establish jointly and inseparably implicit faith in, and unqualified obedience to, the church and king (still giving the church the precedency); whilst the laymen of their party practised, and even professed, a total dissoluteness of life: so that those who were slaves in principle were libertines in practice; while those who were deemed rebels by the court, and latitudinarians by the hierarchy, were rigorists in religion and morality.

This contrariety produced a constant and incessant opposition, augmented the vehemence of antipathy, fortified prejudice, and seemed almost to justify bigotry. [d] But from this (bigotry) we are bound to exculpate Col. Hutchinson. The Independents, to whose party, if a man of so much candour and liberality can be said to be of any party, he belonged, proceeded upon that principle, which, how general soever it ought to be, is however unfortunately very uncommon, of allowing to all that liberty of conscience they demanded for themselves. Accordingly they began by desiring only an act [e] to be passed "for taking away all coercive power, authority,

[d] The flower of the French democrats avoided all such inconsistency and paradox by discarding at once their king, their God, and their morality.

[e] Articles of the army, Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 731.

"and jurisdiction, from bishops, extending to "civil penalties, &c." It was not till after they saw the extreme pertinaciousness of the king to retain the bishops as instruments at a future opportunity for remounting his system of arbitrary sway, and that "the prelatical party about him "prevailed with him to refuse an accommodation, "and hazard his crown and life, rather than di- "minish their greatness and power to persecute "others," that they insisted on the abolition of the order.[f] It was quite a different party, that of the rigid Presbyterians, and peculiarly their ministers, "who cried out against the tyranny "of the bishops only that they might get the "power into their own hands, and, without the "name, might exercise the authority[g] of popes."[h] That, instead of this power being irrevocably and immoveably established over us, we are now governed by the mildest church discipline in the universe, we owe to these Independents! Col. Hutchinson in particular, if he had lived in times like ours, "when bishops and ministers desire "only to be helpers,[h] not lords over the con-

[f] The words of Whitelock, p. 340. where he regrets that the king's chaplains prevailed with him beyond the parliament's commissioners or his own judgment.

[g] Vide Letter of Irving, laird of Drum, and his appeal to Col. Overton; Whitelock, p. 526.

[h] Words of Cromwell in his letter to Scots ministers, Whitelock, p. 473.

" sciences of God's people," would either have been a conforming member of the church of England, or at most have only dissented from it in few things, and that with modesty and moderation. For it is well worthy of notice, that after having suffered provocation and persecution from catholic, episcopalian, and presbyterian, when power came into his own hands, he treated all with lenity, and to the worthy persons of all sects and parties extended his protection.

We have next to consider a part of the conduct of Col. Hutchinson which will be the most generally blamed, and is the least capable of defence, the condemnation of Charles the First. To speak of the justice of such a measure in a legal point of view would be a mockery; nothing but the breaking up of the very foundations of the state, and a war of its elements, could let in the possibility of such a procedure. Amidst the tempest and darkness which then involved the whole political horizon, it savours of presumption to decide what measures were right, expedient, or even necessary: this much alone may safely be asserted, that the king and his friends during the contest, and still more after it was virtually ended by the battle of Naseby, maintained such a conduct as rendered his destruction inevitable; but the remark of Whitelock, p. 363, seems no less just than ingenious; " that such an irregular and " unheard of business should have been left to

" that irregular set of men, the army, who urged " it on." They however were determined to throw the odium on others, or at least draw others in to share it.

Be it as it may, though some may blame, many more will pity, a man such as Col. Hutchinson, who found or conceived himself reduced to the cruel alternative of permitting all that system of liberty, civil and religious, to the establishment of which he had devoted all his faculties, and was ready to sacrifice his existence, to be risqued upon the good faith of a man whose misfortune it was (to say no worse) to be environed by designing and ambitious persons, who rendered all his virtues abortive, and made all afraid to trust him, or of signing a sentence which has since been called a murder, and the undergoing it a martyrdom! At any rate it would be highly ungracious and ungrateful in us, while we enjoy in our well-balanced constitution the benefits derived to us from the virtue, the energy, the sufferings, and even the faults of our ancestors, to pass a severe censure on their conduct; for it will hardly be denied that the remembrance of his father's fate influenced James the Second to yield so easy and bloodless a victory to his opponents, and leave them to settle the constitution amidst calm and sober councils. On the contrary, we are bound to ascribe many of the oversights of those first founders of our liberties to a

precipitancy forced on them by urgent circumstances, to cast a veil over their imperfections, and cherish their memory with thankfulness.

So much having been said for the purpose of obviating misapprehension as to the effect of this work, it may be further expected that some merit or utility should be shewn, to justify the Editor in presenting it to the public notice. Being not the child of his brain and fancy, but of his adoption and judgment, he may be supposed to view it with so much the less partiality, and allowed to speak of it with so much the more freedom.

The only ends for which any book can reasonably be published are to inform, to amuse, or to improve: but unless many persons of highly reputed judgment are mistaken as well as ourselves, this work will be found to attain all three of them. In point of amusement, perhaps novelty or curiosity holds the foremost rank; and surely we risque little in saying that a history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago by a lady of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them, is a literary curiosity of no mean sort.

As to information, although there are many histories of the same period, there is not one that is generally esteemed satisfactory; most of them

carry evident marks of prejudice or partiality; nor were any of those which are now read written at or near the time, or by persons who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with what was passing, except that of Clarendon. But any one who should take the pains, which the editor has done, to examine Clarendon's State Papers, would find therein documents much better calculated to support Mrs. Hutchinson's representation of affairs than that which he himself has given. Mrs. Hutchinson writing from a motive which will very seldom be found to induce any one to take so much trouble, that of giving her children, and especially her eldest son, then about to enter on the stage of life, a true notion of those eventful scenes which had just been passing before her eyes, and which she well judged must be followed by others not less interesting to the same cause and persons, will surely be thought to have possessed both the means and the inclination to paint with truth and correctness: in effect she will be seen to exhibit such a faithful, natural, and lively picture of the public mind and manners, taken sometimes in larger, sometimes in smaller groups, as will give a more satisfactory view to an observant reader, than he will any where else discover. He will be further pleased to see avoided the most common error of historians, that of displaying the paradoxical and the marvellous, both in persons and things. But

surely the use of history being to instruct the present and future ages by the experience of the past, nothing can be more absurd than a wish to excite and leave the reader in astonishment, which instead of assisting, can only confound his judgment. Mrs. Hutchinson, on the contrary, has made it her business, and that very successfully, to account by common and easy causes for many of those actions and effects which others have left unaccounted for, and only to be gazed at in unmeaning wonder; or, in attempting to account for them have employed vain subtility or groundless conjecture. She has likewise not merely described the parties in the state by their general character, but delineated them in *their minute ramifications*, and thus enabled us to trace the springs, and discover the reasonableness, of many of those proceedings which had hitherto seemed incongruous and inconsistent.

Many of these instances will be pointed out in the notes as the passages arise: at present we will only observe that some very signal ones will be found, vol. i. pages 115, 130, 138, 152, 230, 246, 339, 342, 348; vol. ii. 72, 92, 98, 101, 109. 112, 129, 152, 159, 168, 171, 189, 192, 198, 220, 223, 285, 243, 246.

But the greater merit shall appear in this work as a history, the greater will be the regret that the writer did not dedicate more of her attention to render it complete and full, instead of summary.

However, the most numerous class of readers are the lovers of biography, and to these it has of late been the practice of historians to address themselves, as Lyttleton in his Life of Henry the Second, Robinson of Charles the Fifth, Roscoe of Leo the Tenth, and many minor writers. Perhaps the prevalence of this predilection may be traced to the circumstance of the reader's thus feeling himself to be, as it were, a party in the transactions which are recounted. A person of this taste will, it is hoped, here have his wishes completely gratified; for he will, in fancy, have lived in times, and witnessed scenes the most interesting that can be imagined to the human mind, especially the mind of an Englishman; he will have converst with persons the most celebrated and extraordinary, whom one party represent as heroes and demigods, the other as demons, but whom, having had opportunity to view close at hand, he will judge to have been truly great men, and to have carried at once to a high degree of perfection the characters of the warrior, the politician, the legislator, and the philosopher; yet to have had their great qualifications alloyed by such failings, and principally the want of moderation, as defeated their grand designs. He will have accompanied the Hero of the Tale, not only through all the ages of life, but through almost every situation in society, from the lowest that can become noticeable, which Mrs. Hutchin-

son calls the *even ground of a gentleman*, to the highest which his principles permitted him to aspire to, that of a counsellor of state, in a large and flourishing republic; he will have seen him mark each with the exercise of its appropriate grace or virtue, and so completely to have adapted himself to each department, as to appear always to move in the sphere most natural to him: and, finally, to have maintained so steady a course through all the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, as enabled him, though he could neither control the conduct of his coadjutors, nor stem the fluctuating tides of fortune or popular opinion, yet to preserve for himself not only the great and inexhaustible resource of a good conscience, but even the unanimous esteem of the Great Assembly of the Nation, when they agreed in no other thing: he will no doubt be sensible that such a character is rare, but he will perceive such a consistency and harmony of parts as to make him deem the whole easy of belief, and conclude that such an one would be even more difficult to feign than to find: he will hence be led to concur with us in asserting, that it is much more efficacious and conducive to improvement and to the advancement of morality thus to hold forth a great example in real life, and to elicit principles from practice, than first to feign a sentiment, and then actions and events to support it, as has been done both by ancients and moderns, from the Her-

cules of Prodicus to the Grandison of Richardson. Nor has the skill and attention of our author been confined to the pourtraying of her principal character, she has equally succeeded in the delineation of the subordinate ones; so that whenever their speeches or actions are brought afresh before our view, we need not that they should be named in order to recognize the personage; and both in this department, and in that of the developement of the intrigues which she occasionally lays open to us, we shall acknowledge the advantage of her adding to the vigour of a masculine understanding, the nice feeling and discrimination, the delicate touch of the pencil of a female.

As to the style and phraseology, there are so few prose writings of a prior or coeval date now read, that we should be at a loss to point out any which could have served her for models, or us for a standard of comparison; nor does it so much appear to us to bear the stamp of any particular age, as by its simplicity, significancy, and propriety, to be worthy of imitation in all times. Some expressions will be found that are uncommon, or used in an uncommon sense, but they are such as are justified by classical propriety, and, had her book been published, would probably have been adopted and brought into general use.

The orthography was in Mrs. Hutchinson's time in a most unsettled state, and she herself varies it so frequently, that it many times differs

within the same page, and even the same sentence; we have contented ourselves with following her in it literally.

We conclude with expressing a confident hope that the public will find this memoir to be such as we first announced it, a faithful image of the mode of thinking in those days of which it treats, an interesting and new specimen of private and public character, of general and individual biography, and that recommended as it comes by clearness of discernment, strength and candour of judgment, simplicity, and perspicuity of narrative, pure, amiable, and christian morality, sentiments at once tender and elevated, conveyed in language elegant, expressive, and classical, occasionally embellished with apposite, impressive, and well supported figures, it will be found to afford pleasure and instruction to every class of readers.

The ladies will feel that it carries with it all the interest of a novel, strengthened with the authenticity of real history; they will no doubt feel an additional satisfaction in learning, that though the author added to the erudition of the scholar, the research of the philosopher, the politician, and even the divine, the zeal and magnanimity of a patriot; yet she descended from all these elevations to perform, in the most exemplary manner, the functions of a wife, a mother, and mistress of a family.

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THE LIFE OF

MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

A FRAGMENT.

THE Almighty Author of all beings,[a] in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, ex-

[a] That noble turn of thought which led Mrs. Hutchinson to open her work with thanks to her Maker, instead of apologies to the readers, besides the claim it has to their respect instead of their indulgence, will probably, by its originality, recommend itself, and prevent the distaste which the air of religion it wears might give to many, in times when it is so little in fashion. It should be borne in mind that the usage of the times in which it was written was so very different from the present, that those who wish to read with pleasure the works then written, will do well to set their taste according to that standard.

Through the whole of both these works moral and religious reflections will be seen to abound, but so as neither to confuse nor fetter, but rather elevate the mind.

ercises no lesse wisdome and goodnesse then he manifests power and greatnesse in their creation, but such is the stupidity of blind mortalls that insteed of employing their studies in these admirable bookes of providence, wherein God dayly exhibitts to us glorious characters of his love, kindnesse, wisdome, and iustice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderfull operations of the greate God the common accidents of humane life, specially if they be such as are usuall, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldome employ any reflexion; for in things greate and extraordinary some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forgett or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the haires of their heads.

Finding myselfe in some kind guilty of this generall neglect, I thought it might be a meanes to stirre up my thankefulnesse for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected, as much as I have heard or can remember, of the passages of my youth, and the generall and particular providences exercis'd to me, both in the entrance and progress of my life. Herein I meete with so many speciall indulgences as require a dis-

tinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my emproovement for God's glory. The parents by whom I receiv'd my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a witnesse of God's wonderfull workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I receiv'd in my person, each of them carries allong with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodness, so I cannot reflect on them without deepe humiliation for the small emproovement I have made of so rich a stock; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder; and first, as farre as I have since learnt, sett downe the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our Lord 16$\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{0}$ that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the English Isle; I was about 4 of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sr. Allen Apsley, lieftenent of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a

sonne and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sons, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of king James) if that quietnesse may be call'd a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose darke womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.

Whoever considers England,[b] will find itt no small favour of God to have bene made one of its natives, both upon spirituall and outward accounts. The happinesse of the soyle and ayre contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they receiv'd a mention in history, confers some honor upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimitie and virtue, which hath fam'd this island, and rays'd her head in glory, higher then the greate kingdomes of the neighbouring continent. Brittaine hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever

[b] If Mrs. Hutchinson in descanting upon the advantages of her native country, and giving almost an epitome of its history, should seem to digress a little too much, it is hoped the reader will find beauty and singularity in her sketch sufficient to excuse it.

forreigne countries yield to encrease admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forc'd to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and bene reckoned, allmost in all ages, as valliant warriours as any part of the world sent forth; insomuch that the greatest Roman captaines thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and tooke greate glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and 'twas 200 yeares before the land could be reduc'd into a Roman province, which at length was done, and such of the nation, then call'd Picts, as scorn'd servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remain'd a perpetuall trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Brittaines that thought it better to worke for their conquerors in a good land, then to have the freedom to sterve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetcht away, and wasted in the civill broyles of these Roman lords, till the land, allmost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forc'd to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out againe, nor perswa-

swaded to lett their hosts inhabite with them, for they drove the Brittaines into the mountaines of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries, which from the new masters receiv'd a new name, and ever since retain'd it, being call'd England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various successe, but after about 2 or 300 yeares vaine contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and losse, and the Saxon Heptarchie melted into a monarchie, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastitie, left an emptie throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it againe for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falsehood, layd here the foundation of his monarchie, in the people's blood, in which it hath swom about 500 yeares, till the flood that bore it, was plow'd into such deepe furrows as had allmost sunke the proud vessell. Of those Saxons that remain'd subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's famely descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutuall marriages, that the distinction remain'd but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their vallour grewe

terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely quitted themselves in their owne defence, but have shew'd abroad, how easily they could subdue the world; if they did not preferre the quiett enioyment of their owne part above the conquest of the whole.

Better lawes and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enioy'd, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocratie, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those formes, tiranny, faction, and confusion; yett is it nott possible for man to devise such iust and excellent bounds, as will keepe in wild ambition, when prince's flatterers encourage that beast to breake his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and people: but could never in any age so tread downe popular liberty, but that it rose againe with renewed vigor, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the iust bounds wherein our kings were so well hedg'd in, the surrounding princes have with terror sene the reproofe of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves then subiects, and are only serv'd for feare, but not for love; whereas this people have ever bene as afectionate to good as unpliable to bad soveraignes.[c]

[c] The encomium Mrs. H. here bestows on our revered constitution, heightened as it is by a comparison with those of the

Nor is it only vallour and generosity that renowne this nation; in arts wee have advanc'd equall to our neighbors, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnisht. Agriculture is as ingeniously practis'd: the English archery were the terror of Christendome, and their clothes the ornament: but these low things bounded not their greate spiritts, in all ages it hath yielded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

And to compleate the crowne of all their glorie, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, vallour, witt, learning, iustice, wealth, and bounty, their pietie and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the Christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people

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surrounding states, cannot fail to strike with double force upon the minds of us who have viewed with horror and astonishment the wreck of all around us — but it is still more worthy of remark, that after all her experience she still deemed a mixed and temperate monarchy preferable to all other forms of government; and we are hence well justified in concluding that nothing but the extreme abuses which had prevailed, and the failure of all practicable modes of reform, through the ill faith of the monarch, decided her or her husband to endeavour the establishment of a republic, how great soever may have been their zeal for its support when established.

here, out of the wast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the British king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that receiv'd the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdome: Henrie the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoake of from his owne and his subiects necks. Here it was that the first Christian emperor, receiv'd his crowne: Here began the early dawne of gospell light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God rays'd up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianisme, and a more plentifull harvest of devout confessors, constant martirs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not growne in any field of the church, throughout all ages, then those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospell by. Yett hath not this wheate bene without its tares. God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradice, so to compleate the parallell, the serpent hath in all times bene busy to seduce, and not unsuccessfull, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

No sooner was the faith of Christ embrac'd in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent Christians, and slaughter'd multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to

opose the name of Christ with open hostility; then the subtile serpent putt of his owne horrid appearance, and comes out in a Christian dresse, to persecute Christ in his poore prophetts, that bore witnesse against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrell hath bene more successful to the devill, and more aflictive to the church then all open warres, and I feare, will never happily be decided, till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversie, which att the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shar'd many perills, many feares, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

From the place of my birth I shall only desire to remember the goodnesse of the Lord who hath caused my lott to fall in a good ground, who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture where the well-springs of life flow to all that desire to drinke of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poore people perish among the heathen, where they never heare the name of Christ; how many poore Christians spring up in countries enslaved by Turkish and antichristian tirants, whose soules and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knowes what mercy 'tis to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not consider'd the sad condition of

being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely 'tis too universall a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land, are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately past over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnifie God's loving-kindnesse and his speciall favor to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater returne of duty from us then from all other people of the world.

Nor is the place only, but the time of my comming into the world a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of poperie, nor in the dawne of the gospell's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguisht, but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progresse and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the priviledge of beholding the admirable growth of gospell light in my dayes: and oh! that my soule may never forgett to blesse and prayse his name for the wonders of power and goodnesse, wisdome and truth, which have bene manifested in this my time.

The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and vertuous in their owne conversation, and careful instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leizure and

ability, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honor due from me in such a gratefull memoriall, and to encrease my children's emprovement of the patterns they sett them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myselfe to summe up some few things for my owne use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthyly expresse.

My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 7 or 800*l.* a yeare in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough; the famely out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a towne where they had bene seated before the conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of Sr. Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other famelies. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country, I never knew much of, by reason of my youth, at the time of his death, and my education in farre distant places, only in generall I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had bene such a continued custome for my ancestors to take wives att home, that there was scarce a famely of any

note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages neerely related; but I was myselfe a stranger to them all, except my Lord Goring, who living att court, I have sene with my father, and heard of him, because he was appoynted one of my father's executors, though he declin'd the trouble. My grandfather had seven sonns, of which my father was the youngest; to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest according to the custome of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good famely, and by her had only one sonne, whose mother dying, my uncle married himselfe againe to one of his own maides, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the sonne of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a greate while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a yeare to the eldest of his halfe brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a piece to the 3 for their lives. He died before I was borne, but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our famely; the rest of my father's brothers went into the warres in Ireland and the Low Countries, and there remain'd none of them, nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanely, and their generations are worne out except two or three unre-

garded children. My father att the death of my grandfather being but a youth at schole had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but putt himselfe into present action, sold his annuitie, bought himselfe good clothes, put some money in his purse, and came to London; and by meanes of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queene Elizabeth, where he behav'd himselfe so that he won the love of many of the court; but being young tooke an affection to gaming, and spent most of the mony he had in his purse. About that time the Earle of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quitt his idle court life, procur'd an employment from the Victualler of the Navie, to go allong with that fleete. In which voyage he demean'd himselfe with so much courage and prudence, that after his returne he was honor'd with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him, and he married her; but she not living many yeares with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserv'd a fatherly kindnesse, and some of her grand-children were brought up in his house after I was borne. He, by God's blessing, and his fidelity and industry, growing

in estate and honour, receiv'd a knighthood from King James soone after his coming to the crowne, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood, I cannot perfectly sett downe. After that growing into a familiarity with Sr. George Carew, made now by the King Earl of Totnesse, a niece of this earls, the daughter of Sr. Peter Carew, who liv'd a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procur'd a marriage betweene them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a sonne and daughter, surviv'd her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widowhood a very disconsolate life, carefull for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the sonne and daughter, the deare pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himselfe of his employments abroad, and procur'd himselfe the office of Victualler of the Navie, a place then both of credit and greate revenue. His friends, considering his solitude, had procur'd him a match of a very rich widdow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this designe, he chanc'd to see my mother, att the house of Sr. William St. John, who had married her eldest sister, and though he went on his iourney, yett something in her person and

behaviour, he carried allong with him, which would not let him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble famely, being the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiar Tregoz, in the county of Wiltz; her father and mother died when she was not above five yeares of age, and yet at her nurses, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honorable and excellent person, but married to a lady so iealous of him, and so illnatured in her iealous fitts, to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers: the rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were disperst to severall places, where they grew up till my uncle Sr. John St. John being married to the daughter of Sr. Thomas Laten, they were all againe brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautifull women found in any famely as these, but my mother was by the most iudgments preferr'd before all her elder sisters, who, something envious att it, us'd her unkindly, yett all the suitors that came to them, still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation then the rest, hapned to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discretely, that my mother could

not but entertaine him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindnesse for her, perswaded her to remove herselfe from her sister's envie, by going along with her to the Isle of Jernsey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the towne, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learn the language, that minister having bene, by the persecution in France, driven to seeke his shelter there. Contracting a deare friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better then our more superstitious service, that she could have bene contented to have lived there, had not a powerfull passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her returne she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had professt so much love to her, in her absence had bene, by most vile practises and treacheries, drawne out of his senses, and into the marriage of a person, whom, when he recover'd his reason, he hated: but that serv'd only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only adde that my mother liv'd in my uncle's house secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindnesse of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seemed

to have but one soule. And in this kindnesse she had some time a great sollace, till some mallicious persons had wrought some jealousies which were very groundlesse in my uncle, concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate iniur'd innocence, she was herselfe not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdrawe herselfe into the island, where the good minister was, and there to weare out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixt upon it in her owne thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sr. William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he perswaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholly made her conforme chearfully to that gravity of habitt and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person: who was then 48 yeares of age, and she not above 16. The 1st yeare of their marriage was crown'd with a sonne, call'd after my father's name, and borne at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's, which belong'd to my father's employment in the navie: the next yeare they removed to the Tower of London,

whereof my father was made lieftenant, and there had 2 sonns more before me and 4 daughters, and two sonns after: of all which only three sons and two daughters surviv'd him att the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third yeare of his age, after he had three yeares before languisht of a consumption that succeeded a feaver which he gott in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhee.

He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewail'd by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never converst with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficiall; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it wan him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envie and mallice it was his custome to overcome with obligations. He had greate naturall parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightening of them by study of dead writings, but in the living bookes of men's conversations he soone became so skillfull that he was never mistaken but where his own good would not lett him give creditt to the evill he discern'd in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children, a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but for all that deserv'd it, pro-

vided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such compassionate kindnesse their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armes, and when through the ingratitude and vice of that age many of the wives and chilldren of queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decay'd fortunes till he was dead: many of those valliant seamen he maintain'd in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshin'd the rest, it was the generous liberallity of his mind, wherein goodnesse and greatnesse were so equally distributed that they mutually embellisht each other. Pride and covetousnesse had not the least place in his brest. As he was in love with true honor, so he conteman'd vaine titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper years he refus'd a barondry, which the king offer'd him. He was severe in the regulating of his famely, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his roofe. There was nothing he hated

more then an insignificant gallant, that could only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his vertues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne or succeeding times. The large estate he reapt by his happie industry [c], he did many times over as freely resigne againe to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of itt at his death in the king's hands. All his virtues wanted not the crowne of all vertue, piety, and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate famely could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty then he and my mother, who seem'd to be acted by the same soule, so little did she grutch any of his liberallities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindnesse to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne

[c] Mrs. Hutchinson, though a republican, does not fail justly to appreciate loyalty. The noble family of Bathurst, in which that of Apsley is merged by repeated marriages, will with good title claim this as their appropriate virtue of inheritance

private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married; which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she layd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Rawleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poor people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquired a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life.[d] She was not only

[d] This anecdote of Sir Walter Rawleigh will no doubt attract the notice of the observant reader: it merits to be borne in mind, as it will account for a passage in the memoirs, where Mrs. Hutchinson is represented as acting the part of a surgeon in the siege of Nottingham castle: and the treatment Sir Allen Apsley and his lady gave their prisoners forms a striking contrast with that which it will appear at the end of the history was practised by some of his successors, at a time when mildness seemed most requisite, and was most professed. Perhaps prejudice will render it incredible that in the Bastile of Paris, which has become a proverbial expression to signify cruel durance, the conduct of the murdered governor resembled that of Sir Allen Apsley; it is nevertheless true.

to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were aflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was fill'd with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children, was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekeday lectures, and a greate lover and encourager of good ministers, and most diligent in her private reading and devotions.

When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herselfe his nurse, and cooke, and phisitian, and, through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserv'd him a greate while longer then the phisitians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length when the

Lord tooke him to rest she shew'd as much humility and patience, under that greate change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentifull and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the yeare 1659. The privel-ledge of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often revolv'd with greate thankfullnesse for the mercy, and humilliation that I did no more emproove it. After my mother had had 3 sons she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the weomen at my birth told her I was one, she receiv'd me with a greate deale of joy; and the nurses fancying, because I had more complexion and favour then is usuall in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more en-deavour'd to nurse me. As soone as I was wean'd a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse, and I was taught to speake French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamt that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a starre came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remem-ber perfectly; only my father told her, her dreame signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing

like such vaine prophecies, wrought as farre as it could its own accomplishment[e]: for my father and mother fancying me then beautifull, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spar'd no cost to emproove me in my education, which procur'd me the admiration of those that flatter'd my parents. By that time I was foure years old I read English perfectly, and having a greate memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeate them exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 yeares of age, I remember I had att one time 8 tutors in several quallities, languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my booke, and that I was so eager of, that my

[e] This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived, republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labours, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.

mother thinking it preiudic'd my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me then kept me back, and every moment I could steale from my play I would employ in any booke I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hower allow'd me to play, and then I would steale into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learne Latine, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers who were at schoole, although my father's chaplaine that was my tutor was a pittifull dull fellow. My brothers who had a greate deale of witt, had some emulation at the progresse I made in my learning, which very well pleas'd my father, tho' my mother would have bene contented, I had not so wholly addicted myselfe to that as to neglect my other quallities: as for musick and dancing I profitted very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertaine such as came to visit me, I tir'd them with more graye instructions then their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to piéces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myselfe with elder company; to

whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deale of witt; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing roome, I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter againe to greate admiration of many that tooke my memory and imitation for witt. It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myselfe to it, and to practise as I was taught: I us'd to exhort my mother's maides much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked, I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amorous sonnetts or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young weomen, and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these

I have[f] ******* Five yeares after me my mother had a daughter that she nurst at her owne brest, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my[g] ******

[f] At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

[g] Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

Great care being taken to follow the orthography of the writer, the reader need be under no apprehension as to the correctness of the print, though he should find the same word spelt differently even in the same line; as unperfect, imperfect; son, sonne, &c. The only deviation we have made from the MS. is in putting the U and V in their proper places; they being written promiscuously.

MRS. HUTCHINSON TO HER CHILDREN

CONCERNING

THEIR FATHER.

'TO MY CHILDREN.'

THEY who dote on mortall excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things fraile, their adored idolls are taken from them, may let loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assay'd to such mourners, commonly all obiects are remoov'd out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew the grief; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivion's curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view'd together with that which was most excellent; but I that am under a command not to grieve att the common rate of desolate woemen[h], while I am study-

[h] The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises instead of

ing which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more iust to your deare father nor consolatory to myselfe then the preservation of his memory, which I need not guild with such flattring commendations as the hired preachers doe equally give to the truly and titularly honorable; a naked undrest narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantiall glorie, then all the panegyricks the best pens could ever consecrate to the vertues of the best men.

Indeed that resplendant body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick clowd, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world's weake eies, which I feare hath but few people in it so vertuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could

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depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader's taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authoress' judgment and modesty to observe, that having shewn her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.

make so large a progresse in the race of piety, honor, and vertue: but I am allmost stopt before I sett forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himselfe more then my unperfect arithmetick can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskillfull pen cannot describe. I feare to iniure that memory which I would honor, and to disgrace his name with a poore monument; but when I have beforehand layd this necessary caution, and ingenuously confess'd that through my inabillity either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefitt of all, and particularly his owne posterity, I must withhold a greate part from them, I hope I shall be pardon'd for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightfull lovelinesse in it.

Let not excesse of love and delight in the streame make us forgett the fountaine, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flow'd back into their owne spring; there lett us seeke them, thither lett us hasten after him; there having found him, lett us cease to bewaile among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortall; his soule converst with God so much when he was here, that it re-

ioyces to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his vertues were recorded in heaven's annalls, and can never perish, by them he yett teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive: 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive againe, nor would we have them; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquish'd them: our coniunction, if wee had any with him, was indissoluble, if wee were knitt together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still, if wee were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodnesse, wee are so still; what is it then we waile in his remoove? the distance! faithlesse fooles! sorrow only makes it; let us but ascend to God in holy ioy for the greate grace given his poore servant, and he is there with us. He is only remoov'd from the mallice of his enemies, for which wee should not expresse love to him in being aflicted, wee may mourne for ourselves that wee come so tardily after him, that wee want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our tears did not putt out our eies wee should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of vertuous examples and precepts to light us through the darke world. It is time that I lett in to your knowledge that splendor which

while it cheares and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glorie to God alone, who is the father and fountaine of all light and excellence.

Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, vertuous, honorable life, I would put his picture in the front of his booke,[1] but my unskillfull hand will iniure him. Yet to such of you as have not seene him to remember his person, I leave this—

HIS DESCRIPTION.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportion'd shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hayre of light browne, very thick sett in his youth, softer then the finest silke, curling into loose greate rings att the ends, his eies of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thinne, his mouth well made, and his lipps very ruddy and gracefull, although the nether

[1] The editor is happy to have it in his power to do this in a manner that will be gratifying to the lovers of the arts. The original pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, with their two children, were found by him in their house at Owthorpe, and are now deposited, along with the manuscript, at Messrs. Longman's and Co.

chap shut over the upper, yett it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mold of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was rays'd and sharpe, but withall he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and maiesty mixt with sweetenesse, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feete excellently well made, he was quick in his pace and turnes, nimble and active and gracefull in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper yeares made any practise of it, he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman, he had a greate love to musick, and often diverted himselfe with a violl, on which he play'd masterly, he had an exact eare and iudgment in other musick, he shott excellently in bowes and gunns, and much us'd them for his exercise, he had greate iudgement in paintings,[k] graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of vallue in all kinds, he

[k] There remained some few of these at Owthorpe unspoiled, but many were spoiled by neglect, at the death of the last possessor.

tooke greate delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the worke — he tooke much pleasure in emprovement of grounds, in planting groves and walkes, and fruite-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds;[1] of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soone left it of; he was wonderful neate, cleanly and gentile in his habitt, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of aniething that was costly, yett in his plainest negligent habitt appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more addresse than force of body, yet the courage of his soule so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant for he was naturally chearfull, had a ready witt and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withall very rationall, so that he was seldome overcome, every thing that it was necessary for him to doe he did with delight, free and unconstrein'd, he hated ceremonious complement, but yett had a naturall civillity and complaisance to all people, he

[1] Many traces of his taste, judgment, and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.

was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spiritt could undergo labours, watchings and iourneyes, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatick, and had a long sicknesse and distemper occasion'd thereby two or three yeares after the warre ended, but else for the latter halfe of his life was healthy tho', tender, in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weaknesse and tooth akes, but then his spiritts carried him through them; he was very patient under sicknesse or payne or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions, though never without iust ones, he would be very angrie, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outragious in passion; he had a very good facultie in perswading, and would speake very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his iudgment was so nice that he could never frame any speech before-hand to please himselfe, but his invention was so ready and wisedome so habituall in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himselfe of speaking at any time without ranking the words before-hand, he was not talkative yett free of discourse, of a very spare diett, not much given to sleepe, an early riser when in health, he

never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one elce soe, in all his naturall and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to vertue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spiritt and power in him that is not to be found in any copie drawn from him: to summe up therefore all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition wee must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnisht lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent vertues reign'd there awhile, till he was called back to the pallace of the universall emperor. [m]

HIS VERTUES.

To number his vertues, is to give the epitome of his life, which was nothing elce but a progresse from one degree of vertue to another, till in a short time he arriv'd to that height, which many longer lives could never

[m] Is not here Plato's system pourtray'd in language worthy of that sublime and eloquent philosopher?

[n] Highly panegyrical as the character Mrs. Hutchinson here gives of her husband may appear, yet every point of it will be completely exemplified in the narrative; but if the widow's fondness for his memory should have led her into some excess, who will blame it?

reach, and had I but the power of rightly disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive then all the rules of the best morallists, for his practise was of a more devine extraction, drawne from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spiritt; therefore in the head of all his vertues, I shall sett that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royall blood that runs through the whole body of vertue, and every pretender to that glorious famely, who hath no tincture of it, is an imposter and a spurious bratt. This is that sacred fountaine which baptizeth all the gentile vertues, that so immortalize the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated and take a new name and nature; digg'd up in the wildernesse of nature, and dipt in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the Paradise of God.

By Christianitie I intend that universall habitt of grace which is wrought in a soule by the regenerating spiritt of God whereby the whole creature is resign'd up into the divine will and love, and all its actions design'd to the obedience and glory of its maker. As soone as he had improov'd his naturall understanding with the acquisition of learning, the

first studies he exercised himselfe in, were principles of religion, and the first knowledge he labour'd for was a knowledge of God, which by a dilligent examination of the scripture, and the severall doctrines of greate men pretending that ground he at length obtein'd. — Afterward when he had layd a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of man's inventions in God's worship which his spiritt burnt up in the day of their triall. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints.[o] He hated persecution for religion, and was allwayes a champion for all religious people against all their greate oppressors. He detested all scoffs att any practise of worship though such a one as he was not perswaded of. Whatever he practiz'd in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience sake. As he hated outsides in religion, so could he worse endure, those apostacies and those denialls of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries, which timo-

[o] Saints. An expression commonly used in that time to signify good and religious people.

rous men practise under the name of prudent and iust condescensions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him as the fountaine of all his vertues, and diffusing itselfe into every streame, that of his Prudence falls into the next mention. He from a child was wise, and sought to buy many that might have bene his fathers for councell, which he could excellently give to himselfe and others, and whatever crosse event in any of his affaires may give occasion to fooles to overlooke the wisedome of the designe, yett he had as greate a foresight, as strong a iudgment, as cleare an apprehension of men and things as no man more. He had rather a firme impression than a greate memory, yet he was forgetful of nothing but injuries. His owne integritie made him credulous of other men's, till reason and experience convinc'd him, and as unapt to believe cautions which could not be receiv'd without entertaining ill opinions of men, yet he had wisedome enough never to committ himselfe to a traytor, though he was once wickedly betrey'd by friends whom necessity and not mistake forc'd him to trust. [p] He was as ready to heare as to give councell,

[p] It is not known what peculiar transaction this refers to, though it may be conjectured to refer to the false protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Cooper at the restoration; whom he and many others trusted much against their will.

and never pertinacious in his will when his reason was convinc'd. There was no opinion which he was most settled in either concerning devine or humane things but he would patiently and impartially heare it debated. In matters of faith his reason allwayes submitted to the word of God, and what he could not comprehend he would believe because 'twas written, but in all other things, the greatest names in the world could never lead him without reason: he would deliberate when there was time, but never lost an opportunity of anie thing that was to be done by tedious dispute. He would hear as well as speake, and yet never spoke impertinently or unseasonably. He very well understood himselfe his owne advantages, naturall parts, guifts, and acquirements, yett so as neither to glorie of them to others, nor overvallue himselfe for them, for he had an excellent vertuous modesty, which shutt out all vanity of mind, and yet admitted that true understanding of himselfe which was requisite for the best improvement of all his talents; he no lesse understood and was more heedfull to remarke his defects, imperfections, and disadvantages, but that too only to excite his circumspection concerning them, not to damp his spiritt in any noble enterprize. He had a noble spiritt of governement, both in civill,

military, and œcumenicall[q] administrations, which forc'd even from unwilling subjects a love and reverence of him, and endear'd him to the soules of those rejoyc'd to be govern'd by him. He had a native maiesty that struck an awe of him into the hearts of men, and a sweete greatnesse that commanded love. He had a cleare discerning of men's spirits, and knew how to give every one their iust weight, he contemn'd none that were not wicked, in whatever low degree of nature or fortune they were otherwise: where-ever he saw wisedome, learning, or other vertues in men, he honor'd them highly, and admir'd them to their full rate, but never gave himselfe blindly up to the conduct of the greatest master. Love itselfe, which was as powerfull in his as in any soule, rather quick'ned then blinded the eies of his iudgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most deare to him. His soule ever reign'd as king in the internall throne, and never was captive to his sence; religion and reason, its two favour'd councellors, tooke order that all the passions kept within their owne just bounds, there did him good service, and further'd the publick weale. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisedome that he enjoyed,

[q] Œcumenicall—Domestick.

as he was a greate lover of that which advanc'd it, learning and the arts, which he not only honor'd in others, but had by his industry arriv'd to be himselfe a farre greater schollar then is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainements, but he no lesse evidenc'd his wisedome in knowing how to ranke and use them, then in gaining them. He had witt enough to have bene subtile and cunning, but he so abhorr'd dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatenesse of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him from any, to retire into the shaddow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant vertue in him, as which is so in its owne nature. He was as excellent in iustice as in wisedome — the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world could not prevaile on him to pervert justice even to an enemie. He never profess'd the thing he intended not, nor promis'd what he believ'd out of his owne power, nor fail'd the performance of aniething that was in his power to fullfill. Never fearing aniething he could suffer for the truth, he never at any time would refraine a true or give a false witnesse; he lov'd truth so much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries.

He was so just to his owne honour that he many times forbore things lawfull and delightfull to him, rather than he would give any one occasion of scandal. Of all lies he most hated hipocrisie in religion, either to complie with changing governments or persons, without a reall perswasion of conscience, or to practise holy things to get the applause of men or any advantage. — As in Religion so in Friendship, he never profest love when he had it not, nor disguiz'd hate or aversion, which indeed he never had to any party or person, but to their sins: and lov'd even his bitterest enemies so well, that I am witnesse how his soule mourn'd for them, and how heartely he desir'd their conversion. If he were defective in any part of iustice, it was when it was in his power to punish those who had iniur'd him, whom I have so often knowne him to recompence with favours instead of revenge, that his friends us'd to tell him if they had any occasion to make him favourably partiall to them they would provoke him by an iniury. He was as faithful and constant to his friends as mercifull to his enemies: nothing griev'd him more than to be oblieg'd, where he could not hope to returne itt. He that was a rock to all assaults of might and violence, was the gentlest easie soule to kindnesse, that the least warme sparke of that melted him into aniething that

was not sinfull. There never was a man more exactly iust in the performance of duties to all relations and all persons. Honor, obedience, and love to his father, were so naturall and so lasting in him, that it is impossible to imagine a better sonne than he was, and whoever would pray for a blessing in children to any one, could but wish them such a sonne as he.[1] He never repin'd at his father's will in aniething, how much soever it were to his prejudice, nor would endure to heare anie one say his father was not so kind to him as he might have bene, but to his dying day preserv'd his father's memory with such tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children she brought his father, as he could not have bene more dearly concern'd in all their interest if she had bene his owne mother — which, all things consider'd, although they were deserving persons, was an example of piety and goodnesse that will not easily be matcht. For coniugal affection to his wife, it was such in him, as whosoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindnesse, and religion, to be practiz'd in that estate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man

[1] This we shall find called in question by his mother-in-law, and will be discussed in the course of the history.

had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteeme of a wife, yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that iust rule which it was her honor to obey, but manag'd the reines of governement with such prudence and affection that she who would not delight in such an honourable and advantageable subjection, must have wanted a reasonable soule; he govern'd by perswasion, which he never employ'd but to things honorable and profitable for herselfe; he lov'd her soule and her honor more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fooles: if he esteem'd her att a higher rate then she in herselfe could have deserv'd, he was the author of that vertue he doted on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shade. So liberall was he to her and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of sever'd purses: his estate being so much at her dispose that he never would receive an account of aniething she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceast to be young and lovely, he began to shew most fondnesse, he lov'd her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot expresse, yet even this, which was

the highest love he or any man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he lov'd her in the Lord as his fellow creature, not his idoll, but in such a manner as shew'd that an affection bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He lov'd God above her and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glorie cheare-fully resign'd them. He was as kinde a father, as deare a brother, as good a master, and as faithfull a friend as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevail'd on him to indulge vice in any the dearest person, but the more deare any was to him, the more was he offended at any thing that might take of the lustre of their glorie. As he had great severity against errors and follies pertinaciously pursued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spiritt that can be imagin'd to those who became sensible of their errors and frailties, although they had bene never so iniurious to himselfe.

Nor was his soule lesse shining in honour then in love. Pietie being still the bond of all his other vertues, there was nothing he durst not doe or suffer, but sin against God, and therefore as he never regarded his life in

any noble and just enterprize, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surpriz'd, amaz'd, nor confounded with greate difficulties or dangers, which rather serv'd to animate then distract his spirits: he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixt his purpose to entertaine both honourably, so that no accident ever dismay'd him, but he rather rejoic'd in such troublesome conflicts as might signalize his generosity. A truer or more lively vallour there never was in anie man, but in all his actions, it ever marcht in the same file with wisedome. He understood well, and as well perform'd when he undertooke it, the millitary art in all parts of it: he naturally lov'd the employment as it suited with his active temper, more then any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that lov'd his conduct; and when he commanded souldiers, never was man more lov'd and reverenc'd by all that were under him: for he would never condiscend to them in anie thing they mutinously sought, nor suffer them to seeke what it was fitt for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercis'd his authority no way but in keeping them to their iust duty, they joy'd as much in his commands, as he in their obedience: he was very liberall to them, but

ever chose iust times and occasions to exercise it. I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or lesse proud: he never disdain'd the meanest person nor flatter'd the greatest: he had a loving and sweete courtesie to the poorest, and would often employ many spare howers with the commonest souldiers and poorest labourers, but still so ordering his familiarity as it never rays'd them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him; he ever preserv'd himselfe in his owne rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that iust decorum which his honor obliged him to keepe up. He was as farre from envie of superiors as from contemning them that were under him; he was above the ambition of vaine titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevail'd upon him to advance one step that way; he lov'd substantiall not ayrie honor: as he was above seeking or delighting in emptie titles for himself, so he neither denied nor envied any man's due precedency, but pittied those that tooke a glorie in that which had no foundation of vertue. As little did he seeke after popular applause, or pride himselfe in it, if at any time it cried up his just deserts; he more delighted to doe well then to be prays'd,

and never sett vulgar commendations at such a rate, as to act contrary to his owne conscience or reason for the obteining them, nor would forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever look'd on things as they were in themselves, not through the dimme spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was farre from a vaine affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that iust care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as carefull to avoyd the appearances of evill as evill itselfe; but if he were evill spoken of for truth or righteousnesse sake, he rejoyc'd in taking up the reproach; which all good men that dare beare their testimony against an evill generation must suffer. Though his zeale for truth and virtue, caus'd the wicked with the sharpe edges of their mallicious tongues, to attempt to shave of the glories from his head, yett his honor springing from the fast roote of vertue, did but growe the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cutt it [s] of. He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankfull heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compasse for the ex-

[s] Samson and Dalilah.

ercise of his greate heart. He lov'd hospitallity as much as he hated riott: he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he tooke very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of meere pleasure, he lov'd not to aime at that he could not attaine: he would rather weare clothes absolutely plaine, then pretending to gallantry, and would rather chuse to have none then meane iewells or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity: he would rather give nothing than a base reward or present, and upon that score, liv'd very much retir'd, though his nature were very sociable, and delighted in going into and receiving company: because his fortune would not allow him to do it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride or vaine glory, nor diminish a generall affability, curtesie, and civility, that he had allwayes to all persons. When he was most exalted he was most mercifull and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquisht any enemie, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertain'd thoughts of love and kindnesse as soone as he ceas'd to be in a

posture of opposition. He was as farre from meannesse as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and shew'd his noble spiritt more in adversity then in his prosperous condition: he vanquisht all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast upon him were theirs, not his, shame.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meate, drinke, apparell, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoy'd, and herein his temperance was more excellent then in others, in whom it is not so much a vertue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure; in him it was a true, wise and religious governement of the desire and delight he tooke in the things he enjoy'd. He had a certeine activity of spiritt which could never endure idlenesse either in himselfe or others, and that made him eager for the time he indulg'd it as well in pleasure as in businesse: indeed, though in his youth he exercis'd innocent sports a little while, yett afterwards his businesse was his pleasure; but how intent soever he were in anie thing, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something elce. — He had as much modesty as could consist with a true vertuous assurance, and hated an impudent person.

Neither in youth nor riper age could the most faire or enticeing weomen ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familliarity or vaine converse or dalliance with them, yet he despis'd nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and vertuous weomen he lov'd, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandall or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorr'd, and though he sometimes tooke pleasure in witt and mirth, yet that which was mixt with impurity he never would endure. The heate of his youth a little enclin'd him to the passion of anger, and the goodnesse of his nature to those of love and griefe, but reason was never dethron'd by them, but continued governesse and moderator in his soul. [t]

[t] In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, "All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another assay." And accordingly she proceeds to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characteristick*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written: "This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp." J. H.

(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

THE LIFE OF

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

OF OWTHORP,

IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

He was the eldest surviving sonne of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, and the lady Margarett, his first wife, one of the daughters of Sr. John Biron, of Newsted, in the same county, two persons so eminently vertuous and pious in their generations, that to descend from them was to sett up in the world upon a good stock of honor, which oblieg'd their posterity to improove it, as much as it was their privelledge to inheritt their parents glories. Sr. Thomas was he that remoov'd his dwelling to Owthorpe; his father, though he was possessor of that lordship, having dwelt at Cropwell, another towne, within two miles wherein he had an inheritance, which if I mistake not was the place where those of the family that begun to settle the name in this county first fixt their habitation. The famely for many generations past have bene of good re-

pute in Yorkshire, and there is yett a gentleman in that county, descendant of the elder house, that possesses a faire estate and reputation in his father's auncient inheritance.[u] They have bene in Nottinghamshire for generations; wherein I observe that as if there had bene an Agrarian law in the famely, assoon as they arrived to any considerable fortune beyond his who was first transplanted hither, they began other houses, of which one is soone decay'd and worne out in an unworthy branch (he of Basford) another begins to flourish, and long may it prosper.[w] It is further observable in their descent that though none of them before Sr. Thomas Hutchinson advanc'd beyond an esquire, yet they successively matcht into all the most eminent and noble famelies in the country, which shewes that it was the unambitious genius of the famely rather than their want of meritt which made them keepe upon so even a ground after their first atchievements had sett them on a stage elevated enough from the vulgar to performe any honorable

[u] At Wykeham Abbey, in the county of York, where it is believed they still reside.

[w] It stood only two generations; the last possessor, who was the great grandson of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, directing by his will the estate to be sold, and the produce given to strangers.

and vertuous actions. I spoke with one old man who had knowne five generations of them in these parts, where their hospitality, their love to their country, their plaine and honest conversation with all men, their generous and unambitious inclinations, had made the famely continue as well belov'd and reputed as any of the prouder houses in the country.[x] Although they chang'd not their titles, yet every succession encreast the reall honor of their house. One disadvantage they had, that few of them were so long liv'd as to prevent their sons from the bondage of wardship, whereby they fell into the hands of wicked guardians, that defac'd instead of cultivating their seates, and made every heir a new planter. Sir Thomas Hutchinson, as I have heard, was not above eight yeares of age when his father died, and his wardship fell into the hands of an unworthy person, Sr. Germaine Poole, who did him so many iniuries, that he was faine, after he came of age, to have suites with him. This so rays'd the mallice of the wicked man that he watcht an opportunity to assassinate him unawares, and as Sr. Thomas was landing out of a boate at the Temple staires in London, Poole having

[x] Sir Thomas Hutchinson's son and grandson fell no way short of him in this.

on a private coate, with some wicked assistants, before he was aware, gave him some cutts on the head and his left hand that was upon the boate; but he full of courage drew his sword, runne at Poole and broke his weapon, which could not enter his false armor, whereupon he runne in to him, resolv'd not to be murther'd without leaving some marke on the villaine; he bitt of his nose, and then, by the assistance God sent him of an honest waterman, being rescued, he was carried away, so sorely wounded that his life was in some danger: but the fact being made publick, his honorable carriage in it procur'd him a great deale of glory, and his adversary carried the marke of his shame to the grave.[y] After this returning into the country, he there liv'd with very much love, honor, and repute;

[y] This is a singular tale, and savours almost too much of the ridiculous for the gravity of an historian: however Rushworth recites a story of this same man not a little resembling it. In the appendix to his 2d vol. 'Sir German Poole vowed revenge against a Mr. Brighthouse, shot two pistols at him out of a window, set two servants on him with swords, who ran him through the cloak between the arm and body, but killed him not, he defended himself effectually till Sir German came on, who wounded him, and for which he and another were committed to the Fleet, fined 1100l. &c.' This does not seem to have cured him; perhaps the mark set on him by Sir Thomas H. succeeded better. Did Charles the second take the hint from this when he set assassins to slit Mr. Coventry's nose, which caused the Coventry act to pass?

but having bene toss'd up and downe in his youth, and interrupted in his studies, he grew into such an excessive humor of bookes, that he wholly addicted himselfe to them, and deeply engaging in schoole divinity, spent even his houres of meate and sleepe among his bookes, with such eagernesse, that though he himselfe attain'd a high reputation of learning thereby, and indeed a greate improvement in wisedome and pietie, yett he too much depriv'd his deare friends and relations of his conversation. When he was enter'd into this studious life, God tooke from him his deare wife, who left him only two weake children; and then being extreamly aflicted for so deplorable a losse, he entertain'd his melancholy among the old fathers and schoolemen, instead of diverting it, and having furnisht himselfe with the choycest library in that part of England, it drew to him all the learned and religious men thereabouts, who found better resolutions from him then from any of his bookes. Living constantly in the country, he could not be exempted from administ'ring justice among them, which he did with such equitie and wisdome, and was such a defender of the countrie's interest, that, without affecting it at all, he grew the most popular and most belov'd man in the country, even to the envie of those prouder greate ones

that despis'd the common interest. What others sought, he could not shun, being still sought by the whole county, to be their representative, to which he was several times elected,[z] and ever faithful to his trust and his countries interest, though never approoving violence and faction. He was a man of a most moderate and wise spiritt, but still so enclin'd to favour the oppressed saints and honest people of those times, that, though he conform'd to the government, the licentious and profane encroachers upon common native rights branded him with the reproach of the world, though the glory of good men, Puritanisme; yet notwithstanding he continued constant to the best interest, and died at London in the year 1643, a sitting member of that glorious Parliament that so generously attempted, and had almost effected, England's perfect liberte. He was a person of greate beautie and comelinesse in all ages,[a] of a

[z] He was omitted only in that parliament which was chosen at a time when he and other patriots were imprisoned to prevent their being re-elected. See note [e], page 73.

[a] His picture remained at Owthorpe, and very well justified this description, and is now in the Editor's possession in high preservation. For the bounty and nobleness of his nature take this instance from Thoroton's history of Notts. 'Henry Sacheverell, Esq. being dissatisfied with his only daughter for an improper marriage, left his whole estate at Ratcliff upon Soar to Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his sister's son, who willingly di-

bounteous and noble nature, of cleare courage, sweete and affable conversation, of a publick spiritt, of greate prudence and reputation, a true lover of all pious learned persons, and no lesse of honest plaine people, of a most tender conscience, and therefore declaring much for and endeavouring moderation, if it had bene possible in the beginning of our warrs that the greatest wisedome could have cast on any dropps of healing councel, to have allay'd the furious rage of both parties. Though never man was a deeper nor truer mourner than he for his first wife, yett that long dropping griefe did but soften his heart for the impression of a second love, which he conceiv'd for a very honorable and beautifull lady, who was Katherine the youngest daughter of Sr. John Stanhope, of Elvaston, a noble famely in Derbyshire, by whom he had a sonne and two daughters surviving him, not unworthy of their famely.

Mr. John Hutchinson, the eldest of his surviving sons, by his first wife, was borne at Nottingham in the month of September, in the year 1616. That yeare there had bene a greate drought, by reason of which the country would not afford his father any provision

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vided it with the disinherited lady.' His moiety came afterwards to Alderman Ireton, being sacrificed to him through necessity by Col. Hutchinson, as will hereafter be shewn.

for his stables, so that he was forc'd to remoove from Owthorpe to winter in the towne of Nottingham, somewhat before his lady's time of account. She being in the coach on her way thither, and seeing her husband in some danger by reason of a mettled horse he ridd upon, tooke a fright, and was brought to bed the next day, as they imagin'd some three weekes before her time, and they were confirm'd in that opinion by the weakenesse of the child, which continued all his infancy. When he was borne there was an elder brother in the famely, but he died a child. Two yeares and a half after this was Mr. George Hutchinson, his younger brother, borne at Owthorpe, and halfe a yeare after his birth the two children lost their mother, who died of a cold she had taken, and was buried at Owthorpe. She was a lady of a noble famely as any in the county, of an incomparable shape and beauty, embellisht with the best education those dayes afforded, and above all had such a generous virtue ioined with attractive sweetenesse, that she captivated the hearts of all that knew her: she was pious, liberall, courteous, patient, kind above an ordinary degree, ingenuous to all things she would applie herself to, and notwithstanding she had had her education att court, was delighted in her own country habitation, and

managed all her famely affaires better than any of the homespun huswifes, that had been brought up to nothing elce: she was a most affectionate wife, a greate lover of her father's house, shewing that true honor to parents is the leading virtue, which seldome wants the concomitancy of all the rest of honor's traine. She was a wise and bountifull mistresse in her famely, a blessing to her tenants and neighbourhood, and had an indulgent tendernesse to her infants; but death veil'd all her mortal glories in the 26th year of her age. The stories I have receiv'd of her have bene but scanty epitaphs of those things which were worthy a large chronicle, and a better recorder then I can be, I shall therefore draw again the sable curtaine before that image which I have ventur'd to looke at a little, but dare not undertake to discover to others. One that was present at her death told me that she had an admirable voyce, and skill to manage it, and that she went away singing a psalme, which this maid apprehended she sung with so much more than usuall sweetenesse, as if her soule had bene already ascended into the cœlestial quire.

There is a story of her father and mother so memorable that though it be not alltogether pertinent to their grandchild's affaires, which I only intend, yet I shall here putt it

in, since the third generation, for whom I make this collection, is not alltogether uncon-cern'd in the greate grandfather. He (the great grandfather) was not the eldest sonne of his father Sir John Biron, but had an elder brother that had married a private gentle-man's daughter in the country, and so dis-pleas'd his father in that match, that he in-tended an equall part of his estate to this Sr. John Biron, his younger sonne, and there-upon married him to a young lady who was one of the daughters of my lord Fitzwilliam, that had bene deputy of Ireland in the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, and liv'd as a prince in that country.[b] This daughter of his having an honorable aspiring to all things excellent, and being assisted by the greate education her father gave her, attained to a high degree of learning and language, to such an excel-lencie in musick and poetry, that she made rare compositions in both kinds; and there was not any of those extraordinary quallities,

[b] By mistake Mrs. Hutchinson calls him lord. The per-son here meant was Sir William Fitzwilliam, appointed go-vernor of Ireland seven times, with the different titles of Lord Justice and Lord Deputy, by that distinguishing and judicious princess. A sufficient eulogy! From him descends in a direct line the present Earl Fitzwilliam. *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.* The reader will most likely find this episode too beautiful and affecting to think it needs the apology the writer makes.

which are therefore more glorious, because more rare in the female sex, but she was excellent in them: and besides all these ornaments of soule, she had a body of as admirable forme and beauty, which iustly made her husband so infinitely enamour'd of her as never man was more. She could not sett too high a value on herselfe if she compared herselfe with other weomen of those times, yett it was an allay to her glories that she was a little griev'd that a lesse woman, the elder brother's wife, was superior to her in regard of her husband, tho' inferior in regard of her birth and person; but that griefe was soon remoov'd by a sad accident. That marriage, wherein the father had not bene obey'd, was fruitelesse, and the young gentleman himselfe, being given to youthful vanity, as he was one day to goe out a hunting with his father, had commanded something should be putt under the saddle of a young serving man, that was to goe out with them, to make sport at his affright, when his horse should proove unquiett. The thing succeeded as it was design'd, and made them such sport, that the young gentleman, in the passion of laughter, died, and turn'd their mirth into mourning; leaving a sad caveat by his example, to take heed of hazarding men's precious lives for a little sport. The younger brother by this means became the

heire of the famely, and was father of a numerous and hopeful issue. But while the incomparable mother shin'd in all the humane glorie she wish't, and had the crowne of all outward felicity to the full, in the enioyment of the mutuall love of her most beloved husband, God in one moment tooke it away, and alienated her most excellent understanding in a difficult childbirth, wherein she brought forth two daughters, which liv'd to be married, and one more that died, I think, as soone or before it was borne:[c] but after that, all the art of the best physitians in England could never restore her understanding: yet she was not frantick, but had such a pretty deliration, that her ravings were more delightfull then other women's most rationall conversations. Upon this occasion, her husbande gave himselfe up to live retired with her, as became her condition, and made hast to marrie his sonne, which he did so young, that I have heard say when the first child was borne, the father, mother, and child, could not make one-and-thirty yeares old. The daughters and the rest of the children as soon as they

[c] The twins here mentioned as daughters, are said by Thoroton to have been sons, viz. Sir John, presently herein spoken of as the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Nicholas, who served Charles the First with the same zeal as the rest of that family.

grew up were married and disperst. I think I have heard she had some children after that childbirth which distemper'd her, and then my lady Hutchinson must have been one of them, for she was the youngest daughter, and at nine yeares old so taking, and of such an amiable conversation, that the lady Arabella [d] would needs take her from her parents, allong with her to the court, where she minded nothing but her lady, and grew up so intimate in all her councells, that the princesse was more delighted in her than in any of the weomen about her, but when she (the princess) was carried away from them to prison, my ladie's brother fetcht her home to his house; and there, although his wife, a most prudent and vertuous ladie, labour'd to comfort her with all imaginable kindnesse, yet soe constant was her frindship to the unfortunate princesse, as I have heard her servants say, even after her marriage, she would steale many melancholly houres to sitt and weepe in remembrance of her. Meanewhile her parents were driving on their age, in no lesse constancy of love to each other, when even

[d] By the lady Arabella is here meant the lady Arabella Stuart, whose romantic and melancholy story is told by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 161 and 189, in the reign of James the First, That mean soul'd tyrant shut her up in the Tower, where she died, not without suspicion of poison.

that distemper which had estrang'd her mind in all things else, had left her love and obedience entire to her husband, and he retein'd the same fondnesse and respect for her, after she was distemper'd, as when she was the glory of her age. He had two beds in one chamber, and she being a little sick, two weomen watcht by her, some time before she died. It was his custome, as soon as ever he unclos'd his eies, to aske how she did; but one night, he being as they thought in a deepe sleepe, she quietly departed towards the morning. He was that day to have gone a hunting, his usuall exercise for his health, and it was his custome to have his chaplaine pray with him before he went out: the weomen, fearfull to surprize him with the ill newes, knowing his deare affection to her, had stollen out and acquainted the chaplaine, desiring him to informe him of it. Sr. John waking, did not on that day, as was his custome, ask for her, but call'd the chaplaine to prayers, and ioyning with him, in the middst of the prayer, expir'd, and both of them were buried together in the same grave. Whether he perceiv'd her death, and would not take notice, or whether some strange sympathy in love or nature, tied up their lives in one, or whether God was pleased to exercise an unusuall providence towards them, preventing them both

from that bitter sorrow which such separations cause, it can be but coniectur'd; but the thing being not ordinary, and having receiv'd it from the relation of one of his daughters and his grandchild, I thought it not impertinent here to insert. I shall now proceed to our owne story.

Assoone as my lady Hutchinson was dead, her brother, Sr. John Biron, came over, and found the most desolate aflicted widower that ever was beheld, and one of his sisters, the lady Ratcliffe, who was the deare sister of the dead lady, scarce allive for sorrow; and indeed such an universall lamentation in the house and neighbourhood, that the protraction of their griefes for such a funerall as was intended her, might possibly have made them all as she: Sr. John therefore the next morning privately, unknowne to her husband, with only her owne famely, carried her to the church, which was but the next door, and enterr'd her without further ceremony. It booted not Sr. Thomas to be angrie att her friend's care of him, who persued it so farre, that the next day he carried away Sr. Thomas, lady Radcliffe, and Mr. John Hutchinson, towards his own house at Bulwell, leaving Mr. George at his nurse's. But the horses of the coach, being mettled, in the halfway between Owthorpe and Nottingham runne away,

overthrew it, and slightly hurt all that were in the coach; who all gott out, one by one, except the maid that had the child in her arms, and she stay'd as long as there was any hope of preventing the coach from being torn to pieces: but when she saw no stop could be given to the mad horses, she lapp'd him as close as she could in the mantle, and flung him as farre as she could from the coach into the plow'd lands, whose furrows were at that time very soft, and by the good providence of God the child, reserv'd to a more glorious death, had no apparent hurt. He was taken up and carried to Bulwell, where his aunt had such a motherly tendernesse for him, that he grew and prosper'd in her care. As the fresh memory and excessive love they bore the mother, endear'd the young child to all her relations at the first, so as he grew, he discover'd so much growing wisdome, agillity, and prettie spritefullnesse, had such a natural gravity without sullennesse, and such sweete innocence, that every child of the famely loved him better than their owne brothers and sisters, and Sr. John Biron and my lady were not halfe so fond of any of their owne. When it was time for them to go to schoole, both the brothers were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the master of the free schoole att Nottingham, who was an excellent schollar,

but having no children, some wealth, and a little living that kept his house, first grew lazie, and after left of his schoole. Sr. Thomas then remoov'd his sons to the free schoole at Lincolne, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clearke, but he was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantique forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very little there. At this place it was that God began early to exercise him with affliction and temptation: he was depriv'd of the attendance and care he had bene us'd to, and mett with many inconveniences, unsuitable to his tender and nice constitution; but this was little, for he had such discretion in his childhood, that he understood what was fitt for him to require, and govern'd whereere he liv'd; for he would not be denied reasonable, and would not aske other things. He was as a father over his brother, and having some advantage of yeares, tooke upon him to be the guide of his youth, yet with such love, that never were children more commendable and happie in mutuall affections: but it pleas'd God to strike his brother with a sad disease, the falling sicknesse, wherein Mr. Hutchinson most carefully attended him while he continued at Lincolne, which his father permitted him to doe, for

the opertunity of Dr. Pridgeon, one of the best physitians in those parts. When he had in veine exercis'd all his art on the young gentleman, and that he found no successe in it, he advis'd he should return to his father's house, and be entertain'd with all the sports that could be found to delight his mind or exercise his body. Accordingly he was carried home, and had a pack of hounds, huntsmen, and horses kept for him, and was something recreated, but not cured thereby, till afterward it pleased God to effect that cure by a young practitioner, which the ablest phisitians of the country could not worke. The separation from his brother to whom he had such an entire affection, consider'd with the sad occasion of it, was a greate afliction to the elder brother, who remain'd in a place where he had little to delight him, having an aversion to his austere pedantique master, and that encreast by an opinion that his severitie had bene the cause of his deare brother's distemper.

The greate encouragement Sr. Thomas had to trust his sons in this towne, was, because att that time, a gentleman inhabited there who had married his uncle's widow, and had bene his fellow-sufferer in a confinement in Kent, when King Charles the First had broken up a parliament to the disgust of the people, and

durst not trust those gentlemen that had bene most faithfull defenders of their countries interests, to return for some time to their owne countries, for which they serv'd.[e] Of these worthy patriots Sr. Thomas Hutchinson and Sr. Thomas Grantham, the gentleman of whom I am speaking were confined from Nottingham and Lincolneshire to the house of one Sr. Adam Newton in Kent: the good father little thinking then, that in that fatall countrie, his sonne should suffer an imprisonment, upon the same account, to the destruction of his life and famely. Sr. Thomas Grantham was a gentleman of greate repute in his country, and kept up all his life the old hospitality of England, having a greate retinue and a noble table, and a resort of all the nobillity and gentry in those parts. He had only two sons, whereof the eldest was a fine gentleman, bred beyond the seas, according to the best education of those times; the other was a foolish youth, schoolefellow with Mr. Hutchinson, who every Saturday night was fetcht from schoole to Sr. Thomas Grantham's and

[e] This piece of history is mentioned by Rapin, Sir Thomas Grantham is named, but Sir Thomas Hutchinson and many others not named. It appears, in Thoroton's History of Nottingham, edited by Throsby, that this confinement so far answered the purpose of Charles the First, that it caused another to be chosen instead of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, Knight of the shire; but as soon as Sir Thomas got free, he was again chosen, and continued to represent the county till his death.

return'd againe the Munday morning. Upon the intimate friendship betweene Sr. Thomas Hutchinson and this gentleman, Sr. Thomas Huchinson had a lodging always kept for him at Lincolne, and was very often there. My Lady Grantham had with her a very pretty young gentlewoman, whom she brought with her out of Kent, the daughter of Sr. Adam Newton; my lady's designe was to begin an early acquaintance, which might after draw on a marriage betweene her and Mr. Hutchinson, and it tooke such effect that there was a greate inclination in the young gentlewoman to him; and so much good nature on his side, as amounted to a mutuall respect, and such a friendship as their youth was capable of, which the parents and others that wisht soe, interpreted to be a passion of love; but if it were, death quencht the flame, and ravisht the young lady from him in the sweete blooming of her youth. That night she died, he lay in his father's chamber, and by accident being very sick, it was imputed to that cause, but he himselfe least perceiv'd he had any more of love for her, then gratitude for her kindnesse to him, upon which account her death was an affliction to him, and made that house, which had bene his reliefe from his hated schoole, lesse pleasant to him: especially when he mett there continuall solicitations to

sin by the travel'd gentleman, who living in all seeming sobriety before his father, was in his owne chamber not only vicious himselfe, but full of endeavour to corrupt Mr. Hutchinson, who by the grace of God resisted and detested his frequent temptations of all kinds. The advantage he had at this schoole, there being very many gentlemen's sons there, an old low-country souldier was entertain'd to traine them in arms, and they all bought themselves weapons, and instead of childish sports, when they were not at their bookes, were exercis'd in all their military postures, and in assaults and defences; which instruction was not uselesse in a few years after, to some of them: Col. Thornhagh, who was now train'd in this sportive militia, with Col. Hutchinson, afterwards was his fellow souldier in earnest, when the great cause of God's and England's rights came to be disputed with swords against encroaching princes. Sr. Thomas Grantham dying, Mr. Hutchinson was removed from Lincolne to the free-schoole at Nottingham, where his father married a second wife, and for a while went up to London with her, leaving his sonne at bord in a very religious house, where new superstitious and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnatts and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was a while a stumbling block in

his way of purer profession, when he saw among professors such unsuitable miscarriages. There was now a change in the condition and contentment of his life; he was old enough to be sensible that his father's second love and marriage to a person of such quallity, as required a settlement for her sonne, must needs be a lessening to his expectation, but he was so affectionate to his father that he receiv'd it very contentedly, and reioic'd in his remoove, comming from a supercilious pedant to a very honest man, who using him with respect, advanc'd him more in one month then the other did in a year. This tied him to no observation, nor restrein'd him from no pleasure, nor needed not, for he was so moderate when he was left at his liberty, that he needed no regulation. The familliar kindnesse of his master, made him now begin to love that which the other's austerity made him loath; and in a yeare's time he advanced exceedingly in learning, and was sent to Cambridge. He was made a fellow-commoner of Peter House, under the tuition of one Mr. Norwich, an admirable schollar, who, by his civill demeanor to him, wonne so much upon his good nature, that he lov'd and reverenc'd him as a father, and betooke himselfe with such delight to his studies that he attain'd to a great height of learning, perform'd public exer-

cises in his colledge with much applause, and upon their importunity took a degree in the university, whereof he was at that time the grace, there not being any gentleman in the towne that lived with such regularity in himselfe, and such generall love and good esteeme of all persons as he did. He kept not companie with any of the vaine young persons, but with the graver men, and those by whose conversation he might gaine improovement. He was constant at their chapell, where he began to take notice of their stretching superstition to idolatry; and was courted much into a more solemne practice of it then he could admit, though yet he considered not the emptinesse and carnallitie, to say no more, of that public service which was then in use. For his exercise he practised tennis, and play'd admirable well att it; for his diversion, he chose music, and gott a very good hand, which afterwards he improov'd to a greate mastery on the violl; there were masters that taught to dance and vault, whom he practis'd with, being very agile and apt for all such becoming exercises; his father stinted not his expence, which the bounty of his mind made pretty large, for he was very liberall to his tutors, and servitors, and to the meaner officers of the house. He was entic'd to bow to their greate idoll learning, and had a higher

veneration for it a long time than can strictly be allow'd, yet he then look'd upon it as a handmaid to devotion, and as the greate improover of natural reason. His tutor and the masters that govern'd the colledge while he was there, were of Arminian principles, and that colledge was noted above all for popish superstitious practises, yet through the grace of God, notwithstanding the mutuall kindnesse the whole household had for him, and he for them, he came away, after five yeares study there, untainted with those principles or practises, though not yet enlightened to discerne the spring of them in the rights and usages of the English church.

When he came from the university, he was about twenty yeares of age, and returned to his father's house, who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham; but he there enjoyed no great delight, another brood of children springing up in the house, and the servants endeavouring with tales and flatteries to sow dissention on both sides. Therefore, having a greate reverence for his father, and being not willing to disturb him with complaints, as soon as he could obteine his leave he went to London. In the meane time, the best company the towne afforded him, was a gentleman of as exquisite breeding and parts as England's Court ever enjoy'd, one that was

now married, and retir'd into this towne, one of such admirable power of language and perswasion as was not anie where else to be found; but after all this, discontents, or the debaucheries of the times, had so infected him, that he would not only debauch himselfe, but make a delight to corrupt others for his sport: some he would commend into such a vaine-glorious humor, that they became pleasantly ridiculous; some he would teach apish postures, and make them believe themselves rare men, some he would encourage to be poets, and laugh at their ridiculous rhymes, some young preachers he would make stage-players in their pulpitts, and severall wayes sported himself with the follies of most of the young men that he convers'd with. There was not any way which he left unpractis'd upon Mr. Hutchinson; but when, with all his art and industry, he found he could not prevaile, then he turn'd seriously to give him such excellent advice and instructions for living in the world, as were not afterward unuseful to him.[f] There was besides this gentleman a young physitian, who was a good schollar and had a great deale of witt, but withal a profest atheist, and so proud insolent a scurrilous fellow, daring to abuse all persons how much soever above

[f] Who the first gentleman was does no where appear. The Physician here meant, is Dr. Plumtre, of whom much more will be said in this work.

him, that he was throwne out of familliarity with the greate people of the country, though his excellency in his profession made him to be taken in againe. — There was alsoe an old man, who had bene Mr. Hutchinson's first schoolemaster, a person once of greate learning, but afterwards becoming a cinick, yet so pleasantly maintaining that kind of humor, that his conversation was sometimes a good diversion. These were Mr. Hutchinson's companions, yet, through the grace of God, had not power to infect him, who, like a bee, suckt a greate deale of honie from these bitter flowers. At that time, there was in the towne a young maid, beautifull, and esteemed to be very rich, but of base parentage and penurious education, though else ingenuous enough: she was the grandchild of an old phisitian, and from her childhood having bene acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, who used to visit her grandmother, she had conceived a kindnesse for him, which though he civilly resented,[8] his greate heart could never stoope to thinke of marrying into so mean a stock; yet by reason of some liking he shew'd of her company, and the melancholly he had, with some discontents at home, she was willing to flatter herselfe that it was

[8] Resent, in English, seldom used but in a bad sense; in French, *ressentir* is used to signify a reciprocal sentiment of kindness as well as unkindness.

love for her, wherein, when she discover'd her mistake it was a greate griefe. However, she was, without much love on either side, married to an earle's sonne, and both of them, wanting the ground of happinesse in marriage, muttuall love, enioy'd but little felicity, either in their greate fortunes or in one another.[1]

In the house with Mr. Hutchinson, there was a young gentlewoman, of such admirable tempting beauty, and such excellent good nature, as would have thaw'd a rock of ice, yett even she could never gett an acquaintance with him: wealth and beauty thus in vaine tempted him, for it was not yett his time of love: but it was not farre of. He was now sent to London, and admitted of Lincoln's Inne, where he was soone coveted into the acquaintance of some gentlemen of the house, but found them so frothy and so vaine, and could so ill centre with them in their delights, that the towne began to be tedious to him, who was neither taken with wine, nor game,

[1] It is written in the margin by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. probably from the information given him by Lady Catharine Hutchinson, that this lady's name was Martin, and the gentleman who married her Mr. Pierrepont. It would not have been thought worth while to inform the reader of these minute particulars in a note, but for the sake of pointing out the accuracy with which Mr. Julius Hutchinson read and remarked upon this history, and the full knowledge he had of all the circumstances of Col. Hutchinson's life.

nor the converse of wicked or vaine weomen, to all which he wanted not powerfull tempters, had not the power of God's grace in him bene above them. He tried a little the study of the law, but finding it unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague that spring beginning to drive people out of the towne, he began to thinke of leaving it, but had no inclination to returne home, finding his father's heart so sett upon his second famely, that his presence was but disturbance: yet his father was wonderfully free and noble to him in allowance, at all places, as large as any of his quallity had made to them, and it was very well bestow'd on him, who consum'd nothing in vaine expence, but liv'd to the honor of his friends and famely. For his diversion, he exercis'd himselfe in those quallities he had not had so good opertunities for in the country, as dancing, fencing, and musick, wherein he had greate aptnesse and addrèsse, and entertaining the best tutors, was at some expense that way, and loath to leave them of before he had perfected himselfe. However, manie things putting him into the thoughts of quitting the towne, while he was in deliberation how to dispose of himselfe, and had some reflections upon travell, a cousin german of his, a French merchant, came to visit him one morning, and told him, he was imme-

diately going into France, and understanding Mr. Hutchinson had some such inclination, had allmost perswaded him to goe along with him. The only obstacle in the way was, that his father could not be acquainted with it time enough to receive his answer before they went. While he was in this deliberation, his musick-master came in, to whom he communicated his thoughts, and the man told him, it was better to go into France, att the latter end then the beginning of summer, and that if he pleas'd, in the meane time, to go to Richmond, where the Prince's court was, he had a house there, where he might be accommodated, and there was very good company and recreations, the king's hawkes being kept neere the place, and severall other conveniences. Mr. Hutchinson considering this, resolv'd to accept his offer; and that day telling a gentleman of the house whither he was going, the gentleman bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatall for love, that never any young disengag'd person went thither, who return'd againe free. Mr. Hutchinson laught at him, but he to confirme it, told him a very true story of a gentleman, who not long before had come for some time to lodge there, and found all the people he came in company with, bewailing the death of a gentlewoman, that had lived there. Hearing her

so much deplor'd he made enquiry after her, and grew so in love with the description, that no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholly, and would goe to a mount where the print of her foote was cutt, and lie there pining and kissing of it all the day long, till att length death in some months space concluded his languishment. This story was very true; but Mr. Hutchinson was neither easie to believe it, nor frighted at the example; thinking himselfe not likely to make another. He therefore went to Richmond, where he found a greate deale of good young company, and many ingenuous persons, that by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertain'd themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house where Mr. Hutchinson tabled: the man being a skilfull composer in musick, the rest of the king's musitians often met at his house to practise new ayres and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with musick, came thither to heare; others that were not, tooke that pretence, to entertain themselves with the companie. Mr. Hutchinson was soone courted into their acquaintance and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated, with all the attractive

arts, that young weomen and their parents use to procure them lovers, but though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, wittie, well qualified, all of them sett out with all the gayety and bravery, that vaine weomen put on to sett themselves of, yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares, but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome rallerie reproov'd their pride and vanitie as made them asham'd of their glory, and vext that he alone, of all the young gentlemen, that belong'd to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms. In the same house with him, there was a younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieftenant of the Tower, tabled for the practice of her lute, till the returne of her mother, who was gone into Wiltshire for the accomplishment of a treaty that had bene made some progresse in, about the marriage of her elder daughter, with a gentleman of that country, out of which my lady herself came, and where her brothers Sr. John St. John and Sr. Edward Hungerford, living in greate honor and reputation, had invited her to a visitt of them. This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr. Hutchinson, was a very child, her elder sister being at that time scarcely past it, but a child of such pleasantnesse, and vivacity of spiritt,

and ingenuity in the quallity she practis'd, that Mr. Hutchinson tooke pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She having the keyes of her mother's house, some halfe a mile distant, would some times aske Mr. Hutchinson, when she went over, to walk along with her: one day when he was there, looking upon an odde byshelf, in her sister's closett, he found a few Latine bookes; asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's, whereupon, enquiring more after her, he began first to be sorrie she was gone, before he had seene her, and gone upon such an account, that he was not likely to see her; then he grew to love to heare mention of her, and the other gentleweomen who had bene her companions, used to talke much to him of her, telling him how reserv'd and studious she was, and other things which they esteem'd no advantage; but it so much inflam'd Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himselfe that his heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of weomenkind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger, he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord, (though he perceiv'd it not), who had ordein'd him, through so many various providences, to be yoak'd with her in whom he

found so much satisfaction. There scarcely past any day, but some accident or some discourse still kept alive his desire of seeing this gentlewoman, although the mention of her, for the most part, was enquiries whether she had yett acomplisht the marriage that was in treaty. One day there was a greate deale of company mett att Mr. Coleman's the gentleman's house where he tabled, to heare the musick, and a certeine song was sung, which had bene lately sett, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and upon some of their desires read: a gentleman saying 'twas believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it, it was presently enquir'd who? whereupon a gentleman, then present, who had made the first song, sayd there were but two weomen that could be guilty of it, whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Mrs. Apsley. Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnett, beyond the customary reach of a shewitt, although, to speake truth, it signified very little, addrest himselfe to the gentleman, and told him, he could scarcely believe it was a woman's, whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspir'd with some passion for her himselfe, which made him regard all her perfections

through a multiplying glasse, told Mr. Hutchinson, that though for civillity to the rest, he entitled another ladie to the song, yet he was confident it was Mrs. Apsley's only, for she had sence above all the rest, and fell into such high prayses of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathie in nature had before produc'd: another gentleman, that sate by, seconded this commendation, with such additions of prayse, as he would not have given if he had known her. Mr. Hutchinson hearing all this, sayd to the first gentleman, I cannot be at rest till this ladie's returne, that I may be acquainted with her; the gentleman replied, "Sir, you must not expect that, for she is of an humour she will not be acquainted with any of mankind, and however this song is stolen forth, she is the nicest creature in the world of suffering her perfections to be knowne, she shuns the converse of men as the plague, she only lives in the enioyment of herself and has not the humanitie to communicate that happiness to any of our sex." "Well," sayd Mr. Hutchinson, "but I will be acquainted with her;" and indeed the information of this reserv'd humour pleas'd him, more than all elce he had heard, and fill'd him now with thoughts how he should attaine the sight and knowledge of her. While

he was exercis'd in this, many days past not, but a footeboy of my lady her mother's came to young Mrs. Apsley [1] as they were at dinner bringing newes that her mother and sister would in few dayes return; and when they enquir'd of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married; having before bene instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pull'd out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding, in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the companie believ'd she had been married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and felt a fainting to seize his spiritts, in that extraordinary manner, that finding himselfe ready to sinke att table, he was faine to pretend something had offended his stomach, and to retire from the table into the garden, where the gentleman of the house going with him, it was not necessary for him to feigne sicknesse, for the distemper of his mind had infected his body with a cold sweate and such a dispersion of spiritt, that all the courage he could at present recollect was little enough to keep him alive.

[1] It was the custom at that time to call young ladies Mistress, not Miss. Shakespeare calls Ann Page, Mrs. Ann.

His host was very troublesome to him, and to be quitt of him he went to his chamber, saying he would lie downe. Little did any of the company suspect the true cause of his sudden qualme, and they were all so troubled att it, that the boy then past without further examination. When Mr. Hutchinson was alone he began to recollect his wisdome and his reason, and to wonder att himselfe, why, he should be so concern'd in an unknowne person; he then remember'd the story was told him when he came downe, and began to believe there was some magick in the place, which enchanted men out of their right sences; but it booted him not to be angrie att himselfe, nor to sett wisedome in her reprooving chaire, nor reason in her throne of councell, the sick heart could not be chid nor adviz'd into health; this anxiety of mind affected him so, that it sent him to his bed that afternoone, which indeed he tooke to entertaine his thoughts alone that night, and having fortified himselfe with resolution, he gate up the next day, but yett could not quitt himself of an extravagant perplexitie of soule, concerning this unknown gentlewoman, which had not bene admirable in another light person, but in him, who was from his childhood so serious and so rationall in all his considerations, it was the effect of a miraculous

power of providence, leading him to her that was destin'd to make his future joy. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy againe, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleas'd himselfe in the hopes of her speedy returne, when one day, having been invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood, to a noble treatment at Sion Garden, which a courtier, that was her servant, had made for her and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter, were of the partie, and having spent the day in severall pleasant divertisements, att evening they were att supper, when a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson, pretending civillity to conduct her home, made her stay 'till the supper was ended, of which he eate no more, now only longing for that sight, which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obteined; but his heart being prepossesst with his owne fancy, was not free to discerne how little there was in her to answer so greate an expectation. She was not ugly, in a carelesse riding-habitt, she had a melancholly negligence both of herselfe and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor tooke notice of anie thing before her; yet

spite of all her indifferency, she was surpriz'd with some unusuall liking in her soule, when she saw this gentleman, who had haire, eies, shape, and countenance enough to begett love in any one at the first, and these sett of with a gracefull and generous mine, which promis'd an extraordinary person; he was at that time, and indeed always very neatly habited, for he wore good and rich clothes, and had variety of them, and had them well suited and every way answerable, in that little thing, shewing both good iudgement and greate generosity, he equally becoming them and they him, which he wore with such unaffectednesse and such neatenesse as doe not often meete in one. Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desir'd, and that at disadvantage enough for her, yett the prevailing sympathie of his soule, made him thinke all his paynes well payd, and this first did whett his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his ioy found she was wholly disengag'd from that treaty, which he so much fear'd had been accomplisht; he found withall, that though she was modest, she was accostable and willing to entertaine his acquaintance. This soone past into a mutuall friendship betweene them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet was she glad to

have acquir'd such a friend, who had wisedome and vertue enough to be trusted with her councells, for she was then much perplext in mind; her mother and friends had a greate desire she should marry, and were displeas'd that she refus'd many offers which they thought advantageous enough; she was obedient, loath to displease them, but more herselfe, in marrying such as she could find no inclination to. The troublesome pretensions of some of the courtiers, had made her willing to trie whether she could bring her heart to her mother's desire, but being by a secret working, which she then understood not, averted, she was troubled to returne, lest some might believe it was a secret liking of them which had caus'd her dislike of others, and being a little disturb'd with these things and melancholly, Mr. Hutchinson, appearing, as he was, a person of vertue and honor, who might be safely and advantageably converst with, she thought God had sent her a happy reliefe. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, having bene told, and seeing how she shun'd all other men, and how civilly she entertain'd him, believ'd that a secret power had wrought a mutuall inclination betweene them, and dayly frequented her mother's house, and had the opertunitie of conversing with her in those pleasant walkes, which, at that sweete

season of the spring, invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seeke their ioyes; where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opertunity for converse with each other, which the rest shar'd not in, while every one minded their owne delights.

They had not six weekes enioy'd this peace, but the young men and weomen, who saw them allow each other that kindnesse which they did not afford commonly to others, first began to grow iealous and envious at it, and after to use all the mallitious practises they could invent to breake the friendship. Among the rest, that gentleman, who at the first had so highly commended her to Mr. Hutchinson, now began to caution him against her, and to disparedge her, with such subtile insinuations, as would have ruin'd any love, lesse constant and honorable then his. The weomen, with wittie spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dress and habitt, and all womanish ornaments, giving herselfe whollie up to studie and writing. Mr. Hutchinson, who had a very sharpe and pleasant witt, retorted all their mallice with such iust reproofes of their idlenesse and vanity, as made them hate her, who, without affecting it, had so engag'd such a person in her protection, as they with all their arts could not

catch. He in the meanewhile prosecuted his love, with so much discretion, duty, and honor, that at the length, through many difficulties, he accomplisht his designe. I shall passe by all the little amorous relations, which if I would take the paynes to relate, would make a true history of a more handsome management of love then the best romances describe: [k] for these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy mention among the greater transactions of his life. There is this only to be recorded, that never was there a passion more ardent and lesse idolatrous; he lov'd her better than his life, with inexpressable tendernesse and kindnesse, had a most high obliging esteeme of her, yet still consider'd honour, religion, and duty, above her, nor ever suffer'd the intrusion of such a dotage as should blind him from marking her imperfections: these he look'd upon with such an indulgent eie, as did not abate his love and esteeme of her, while it augmented his care to blott out all those spotts which might make her appeare lesse worthy of that respect he pay'd her; and thus indeed he soone made her more equall to him then he found her; for she was a very faith-

[k] Will not many regret that she passes so transiently these scenes of tenderness and sentiment?

full mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimmely, his owne glories upon him, so long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a faire figure, when he was remoov'd, was only fill'd with a darke mist, and never could againe take in any delightfull obiect, nor returne any shining representation. The greatest excellencie she had was the power of apprehending and the vertue of loving his: soe as his shadow, she waited on him every where, till he was taken into that region of light, which admitts of none, and then she vanisht into nothing. 'Twas not her face he lov'd, her honor and her vertue were his mistresses, and these (like Pigmalion's) images of his own making, for he polisht and gave forme to what he found with all the roughness of the quarrie about it; but meeting with a compliant subiect for his owne wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities. That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small pox, which was many wayes a greate triall upon him; first her life was allmost in desperate hazard, and then the disease for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be sene, for a great while after she recover'd; yett he was nothing

troubled at it, but married her as soone as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to looke on her: but God recompenc'd his iustice and constancy, by restoring her, though she was longer then ordinary before she recover'd, as well as before. One thing is very observable, and worthy imitation in him; although he had as strong and violent affections for her, as ever any man had, yet he declar'd it not to her till he had acquainted first his father, and after never would make any engagement but what his love and honor bound him in, wherein he was more firme and iust then all the promisarie oathes and ties in the world could have made him, notwithstanding many powerfull temptations of wealth and beauty, and other interests, that were laid before him; for his father had concluded another treaty, before he knew his son's inclinations were this way fixt, with a party in many things much more advantageable for his famely, and more worthy of his liking: but his father was no lesse honorably indulgent to his son's affection, then the sonne was strict in the observance of his duty, and at length, to the full content of all, the thing was accomplisht, and on the third day of July, in the yeare 1638, he was married to Mrs. Lucy Apsley, the second daughter of Sr. Allen Apsley, late

lieftenant of the Tower of London, at St. Andrew's church in Holborne. He liv'd some time in this neighbourhood with her mother, but foure months were scarce past after their marriage before he was in greate danger to have lost her, when she lost two children she had conceiv'd by him. Soone after conceiving againe, she grew so sickly, that her indulgent mother and husband, for the advantage of her health, remoov'd their dwelling out of the city, to a house they tooke in Enfield chace, called the Blew House, where, upon the third of September 1639, she was brought to bed of two sonns, whereof the elder he named after his owne father, Thomas, the younger was call'd Edward, who both surviv'd him. September 1641 she brought him another sonne, call'd by his owne name, John, who liv'd scarce six yeares, and was a very hopefull child, full of his father's vigor and spiritt, but death soone nipt that blossome.

Mr. Hutchinson, after about 14 months various exercise of his mind, in the persuite of his love, being now at rest in the enioyment of his wife, his next designe was to draw her into his owne country, but he would not set upon it too roughly, and therefore lett her rest awhile, when he had drawne her ten miles nearer it, out of the city where she had

had her birth and education, and where all her relations were most conversant, and which she could not suddainely resolve to quitt for altogether, to betake herself to the north, which was a formidable name among the London ladies. While she was weaning from the friends and places she so had long converst in, Mr. Hutchinson employ'd his time in making an entraunce upon the study of schoole divinity, wherein his father was the most eminent schollar of any gentleman in England, and had a most choyce library[1], vallued at a thousand pounds; which Mr. Hutchinson mistakingly expecting to be part of his inheritance, thought it would be very inglorious for him not to understand how to make use of his father's bookes. Having therefore gotten into the house with him an excellent schollar in that kind of learning, he for two yeares made it the whole employment of his time. The gentleman that assisted him he converted to a righte beliefe in that greate poynt of predestination, he having bene before of the

[1] This is spoken of in the preface, and did in fact remain at Owthorpe, but probably was placed there by Charles, the son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife: it was of excessively small value when taken possession of in the year 1776.

It is apparent, from Sir Thomas Hutchinson being upon all the committees for religion, as may be seen in Rushworth's collection, that he was in repute for this kind of knowledge.

Arminian iudgment, till upon the serious examination of both principles, and comparing them with the scriptures, Mr. Hutchinson convinc'd him of the truth, and grew so well instructed in this principle, that he was able to maintaine it against any man. At that time, this greate doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embrac'd by all religious and holy persons in the land. Mr. Hutchinson being desirous to informe himselfe thoroughly of it, when he was able to manage the question, offer'd it to his father, but Sir Thomas would not declare himselfe in the poynt to him, nor indeed in any other, as we conceiv'd, least a father's authority should sway against his children's light, who he thought ought to discerne things with their own eies, and not with his. Mr. Hutchinson taking delight in the study of divinity, presently left off all foollish nice poynts, that tended to nothing but vaine brangling, and employ'd his whole study in laying a foundation of sound and necessary principles, among which he gave the first place to this of God's absolute decrees. This was so farre from producing a carelessnesse of life in him, a thing generally obiected against this faith [m], that,

[m] Mrs. Hutchinson, in exculpating her husband, goes no part of the way towards shewing that the natural tendency of this principle differs from that which is objected against it, but

on the other side, it excited him to a more strict and holy walking in thankefullnesse to God, who had bene pleas'd to chuse him out of the corrupted masse of lost mankind, to fix his love upon him, and give him the knowledge of himself by his ever blessed Sonne. This principle of love and life in God, which had bene given him when he discern'd not what it was in himselfe, had from a child preserv'd him from wallowing in the mire of sinne and wickednesse, wherein most of the gentry of those times were miserably plunged, except a few, that were therefore the scorne of mankind; and but few of those few, that had not naturall and superstitious follies, that were in some kind iustly ridiculous and contemptible. It was a remarkable providence of God in his life, that must not be past over without spe-

merely that he resisted this bias from another consideration. This is certainly not a suitable place to discuss such a subject; and it is therefore dismissed with this remark, that the partizans of the two opposite, or supposed opposite, principles of predestination and free will, while they endeavour to implicate each other in absurdity and irreligion, agree in practice, and, guiding their actions by the best discretion they are masters of, end with referring the event to Providence, and praying to God for a blessing on their endeavours:—much more rational in so doing than farther exposing the weakness of human understanding by disquisitions far too refined for its reach. The conduct of modern times is in this respect more commendable than that of the past.

ciall notice, that he gave him these two yeares leizure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noyse of warre and tumult came upon him. Yett about the yeare 1639 the thunder was heard afarre of rattling in the troubled ayre, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadfull storme which the next yeare was more apparent; but Mr. Hutchinson was not yet awaken'd till it pleased God to deliver him from a danger into which he had runne himselfe, had not mercy prevented him. His wife having allready two sons, and being againe with child, consider'd that it would be necessary to seeke an augmentation of revenue, or retire into a cheaper country; and more enclining to the first, then to leave att once her mother, and all the rest of her deare relations, had propounded to him to buy an office, which he was not of himselfe very inclinable to, but, to give her and her mother satisfaction, he hearkened to a motion that was made him in that kind. Sr. William Pennieman, who had married his cousin-german, a very worthy gentleman, who had greate respect both for and from his father, had purchas'd the chiefe office in the starre chamber; the gentleman who held the next to him was carelesse and debosht, and thereby a greate hinderance of Sr. William's profitts, who ap-

prehended if he could gett an honest man into that place, that they might mutually much advantage each other; whereupon he perswaded Mr. Hutchinson to buy the place, and offer'd him any termes, to goe any share with him, or any way he could desire. Mr. Hutchinson treated with the gentleman, came to a conclusion, went downe into the country, provided the money, and came up againe, thinking presently to enter into the office; but the gentleman that should have sold it, being of an uncerteine humor, thought to make the benefit of another terme, before he sold his place; and it pleas'd God in the meane time that arbitrary court was, by the parliament then sitting, taken away. Mr. Hutchinson was very sensible of a peculiar providence to him herein, and resolv'd to adventure no more such hazards, but to retire to that place whither God seem'd to have call'd him by giving him so good an interest there, and to study how he was to emproove that talent. His wife convinc'd by this kind check which God had given to her desires, that she ought to follow her husband where the Lord seem'd to call him, went allong with him, and about October 1641 they came to their house at Owthorpe. Here Mr. George Hutchinson (Sr. Thomas being then chosen knight for Nottinghamshire, and sitting in the parliament at

London) came and gave a glad entertainement of his brother and sister into the country, by his good company, and they were for a few months peacefull and happie in their own house, till the kingdome began to blaze out with the long-conceived flame of civill warre. But here I must make a short digression from our particular actions, to summe up the state of the kingdome at that time, which though I cannot doe exactly, yet I can truly relate what I was then able to take notice of, and if any one have a desire of more particular information, there were so many bookes then written, as will sufficiently give it them: and although those of our enemies are all fraught with abominable lies, yett if all ours were supprest, even their owne writings impartially consider'd would be a sufficient chronicle of their injustice and oppression; but I shall only mention what is necessary to be remembered, for the better carrying on of my purpose.[n]

[n] In a small book, without the author's name, preserved in the British Museum, and which is entitled, a Parallel of Clarendon and Whitelock, this is set in the clearest light possible, and in a variety of instances the unfaithfulness of Clarendon's testimony made evident by the production of palpable self-contradictions. Most of those who read the summary account Mrs. Hutchinson gives of the public transactions, will extremely regret that she was not much more full in it, seeing the candour and perspicuity with which she writes: short as

When the dawne of the gospell began to breake upon this isle, after the darke midnight of papacy, the morning was more cloudy here then in other places by reason of the state interest, which was mixing and working itselfe into the interest of religion, and which in the end quite wrought it out. King Henry the Eighth, who by his royall authority cast out the pope, did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression, but only change their forreigne yoake for homebred fetters, deviding the pope's spoyles betweene himselfe and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enioy'd their patrimony and their honours here under another head: soe that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honour of the reformation. But even then there wanted not many who discern'd the corruptions that were retein'd in the church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obteine a purer reformation, against whom those who saw no need of further reformation, through excess of ioy for that which was allready brought forth, or

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it is, however, it will be found to throw light upon many obscure points, and, from being so much concentrated, will be useful and acceptable to many, as serving to fix a general and just idea of the public mind, as well as transactions, in the times of which she treats.

else through a secret love of superstition rooted in their hearts, thought this too much, were bitterly incens'd, and hating that light which reproov'd their darknesse, every where stirr'd up spiritts of envy and persecution against them. Upon the greate revolution which tooke place at the accession of Queene Elizabeth to the crown, the nation became divided into three greate factions, the papist, the state protestant, and the more religious zelotts, who afterward were branded with the name of Puritane. In vaine it was for these to addresse to the queene and the parliament; for the bishops, under the specious pretences of uniformity and obedience, procur'd severe punishments to be inflicted on such as durst gainsay their determinations in all things concerning worship, whereupon some even in those godly dayes lost their lives.

The papists had a most inveterate hatred to all the protestants, but especially to those who were godly°, and they againe many of them suffer'd their zeale to runne out into bitter personall hate. Betweene these two extreames, the common protestant was in the middle, though I cannot reckon them as a vertuous medium; for of them the more pro-

° Godly. The name always given by the Puritans to those of their own party, and not unfrequently so used by different sectaries at the present day.

phane and ignorant only left popery because it grew out of fashion, but in their hearts inclin'd that way; those who were peaceable, conscientious, or morall persons, enclin'd to the puritane; of whom there were many that unwillingly bore the burthen of the cerimonies, for quietnesse sake, and through false-doctrine of their unfaithfull teachers, as well as some that discern'd the base and carnall minds of those seducers, and would not be perswaded by them to defile their consciences: the former sort of these, in zeale to reduce the whole land from their idolatrous practices, procur'd lawes and invented oathes to suppresse popery, which they little thought, but wee now sadly find, are the bitterest engines to batter downe the pure worship and destroy the pure worshippers of God; which I have often looked upon as an evidence that God is not pleas'd with the conversions that are enforc'd by men's lawes. We have spirituall weapons given us for spirituall combates, and those who go about to conquer subiects for Christ with swords of steele, shall find the base metall breake to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully flie in their owne faces.

About the time of the reformation, there was a greate change in the civill interest of all that part of the world which had long layne under the bondage of the Roman pre-

late and his tirannicall clergie. These had by degrees so encroacht upon all the secular princes, that they were nothing but vassalls and hangmen to the proud insolent priest. Obtaining his empire by fraud, false doctrine, lies, and hipocrisie, he maintained it by blood and rapine, till it pleas'd God to cause that light to breake forth about Luther's time, which hath ever since bene encreasing, and notwithstanding all the attempts of Sathan and his ministers, will in the end grow up to a glorious flame and quite devoure that bloody city. When the wrath of princes and priests was in vaine at first blowne up against the professors of the gospell, and their blood and ashes became fruitefull seed in God's field, then the old fox comes into the fold as a lamb, and seduces some of them that saw the approach of Christ's kingdome, to sett it up irregularly, and indeed, (though I know not whether they perceiv'd their owne delusion), to sett up themselves in Christ's throne, casting downe the thrones of all other magistrates, and destroying the proprieties of men, and ruling by their owne arbitrary lust, which they brought forth in the name of God's law.[p]

[p] A description of the principles of the most extravagant of those whom in history they call Fifth Monarchy Men, from their affecting to set up the empire of Christ as the fifth; the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, being the first four.

This example was so threatning to all mankind, that the gospell itself, by the adversaries thereof, suffer'd much reproach upon this miscarriage; whereupon the Protestants, in all places, to cleare themselves from the iust aspersions, which the Munster anabaptists and others had occasion'd, fell into an error on the other hand, not much lesse hurtfull in the consequence; for to flatter the princes of the world, whether Popish or Protestant, they invested them with God's prerogative, and preach'd to them and the people such doctrines as only chang'd the idoll, but left the idolatry still in practice.[1]

The Popes of Rome had for many ages

[1] This could hardly be carried farther any where than in England: where in all cases passive, in most cases active obedience was indiscriminately inculcated; where two divines stating in their discourses, one, "that it was the king's duty to "make laws, and the subject's to obey them;" another, that "the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, but "that his royal will and command in imposing taxes and loans "without consent of parliament doth oblige the subject's con-"science, upon pain of eternal damnation." For refusing to license the publication of the first sermon, the good Archbishop Abbot was banished and confined to a bad and unhealthy country house. For the latter, the preacher, though sentenced by the Lords to be fined and imprisoned, was by the king pardoned, and promoted to a bishoprick. After this, let it be decided whether Charles reverenced episcopacy as a divine institution, or valued it as an engine of state? and in what light he caused his subjects to view it?

challeng'd and practis'd a power to disthrone princes, to give away their realmes, to interdict whole kingdoms and provinces and devote them to slaughter, to loose subjects from all bonds and oathes of allegiance to their soveraignes, and to stirre up both princes and people to the mutuall murther of each other, which abominable courses had bene iustly cast upon them as reproach, they pretending to doe all these things for the propagation of the true worship and the advance of God's glorie. This reproach they retorted when some protestants upon the same pretence did maintaine that idolatrous princes were to be remoov'd, and such magistrates sett up as feared God, who were guardians of both tables, and bound to compell all their people to the right religion. This confusion was there among the sons of darknesse at the first appearance of gospell light.

About this time in the kingdom of Scotland, there was a wicked queene, daughter of a mother that came out of the bloody house of Guize[r], and brought up in the Popish religion, which she zealously persever'd in, as most suitable to her bloody lustful temper; she being guilty of murthers and adulteries, and hateful for them to the honestest of the

[r] Mary Queen of Scots.

people, was depos'd, imprison'd, and forc'd to flie for her life; but her sonne was receiv'd into the throne, and educated after the strictest way of the protestant religion according to Calvin's forme. Those who were chiefely active and instrumentall in the iustice executed on this wicked queene, were the reformers of religion in Scotland, which made the neighbouring idolatrous princes to feare them of the same faith. About the same time likewise, the provinces of the Netherlands united themselves in a resistance of the King of Spaine, and cast of that yoake wherewith he had most barbarously gall'd them. The King of France, persecuting his protestant subiects with much inhumane violence, forc'd them to defend themselves against his unsanctified league, and much blood was shed in those civill warrs, 'till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence in delivering them from their cruell princes, were perswaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawne into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred.[s] Now, although religion were the maine ground of those bloody quarrels, yet there were, in all these coun-

[s] The famous massacre on St. Bartholomew's day at Paris.

tries, many disputes of civill right, which for the most part bore the face of the warrs; whereat I have only hinted in this survey of the condition of other states, and their interests in those days and since; which is something necessary to be knowne for the better understanding of our owne, with which I shall now proceed.

The civill government of England, from the time called the Conquest, had been administer'd by a King, Lords, and Commons, in a way of Parliaments; the Parliament entrusted with the legislative, and the King with the executive power; but severall of the kings not satisfied with their bounded monarchie, made attempts to convert it into an absolute soveraignety, attempts fatall both to themselves and their people, and ever unsuccessfull; for the generous people of England, as they were the most free and obsequious subiects in the world to those princes that manag'd them with a kind and tender hand, commanding them as freemen, not as slaves, so were they the most untameable invincible people, in defence of their freedomes against all those usurping lords, that scorn'd to allow them liberty. The nobillity of the realme having at first the great ballance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honorable vertue, for which they were exalted above the

vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence and curb'd the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduc'd to moderation, and sometimes depos'd for their misgovernments, till at length, the kings, eager to breake this yoake, had insensibly worne out the interest of the nobillity, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the greate estates of some, others were destroy'd by confiscations in divers civill wars, and others otherwayes mould'red with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had bene such a check to their exorbitancies, they perceiv'd not the growing of another more dangerous to them, and that when the nobillity shrunk into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more but a little puffe of wind to beare it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it.[t] The interest

[t] It is wonderful that the experience of so many ages and so many other states had not been sufficient to warn the princes of the Houses of Bourbon of this fatal error! From the moment of Cardinal Richelieu's coming into power under Louis the XIIIth, to Neckar's return to power after his rustication under Louis the XVIth, the plan of lowering the power of the noblesse of France had been systematically pursued. The last stroke was given to it when this delusive and deluded minister advised that unfortunate monarch to give to the commons a double number of representatives in the States General, and to blend the noblesse with them. It was in vain that the Prince

of the people, which had bene many yeares growing, made an extraordinary progresse in the dayes of King Henry the eighth, who returning the vast revenues of the church into the body of the people, cast the ballance cleare on their side, and left them now only to expect[n] an opertunity to resume their power into their owne hands, and had not differences in religion divided them among themselves, and thereby prolong'd the last gasps of expiring monarchy, they had long since exercis'd it in a free commonwealth.

England was not an idle spectator of the greate contest betweene the Papist and Protestant, in which all Christendome seem'd to be engag'd. During the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, the protestant interest, being her peculiar interest, that princesse became not only glorious in the defence of her own realme, but in the protection she gave to the whole protestant cause, in all the neighbouring kingdomes: wherefore, as if it had bene devolv'd upon her person, the Pope shott all his arrowes at her head, and sett on many des-

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of Conty gave him a short note of admonition, written on the spur of the occasion upon his hat—"Sire, the moment you sign this arret your throne is overturned." He rejected the advice, and betrayed the author.

[n] Expect, a Latinism; expectare, to wait for; or Italian, aspettare id.

perate assassinations against her, which, by the good providence of God, were all frustrated, and she not only miraculously deliver'd from those wretches, but renown'd at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subiects in England and Ireland, and for the assistance of her distressed neighbours; but above all for the mercy which it pleased God to afford her and this realme in the year 1588, when the invading Spaniard had devour'd us in his proud hopes, and by the mighty hand of God was scatter'd as a mist before the morning beames. That which kept alive the hopes of the Papists, most part of her reigne, was, the expectation of the Queene of Scots, who entring into confederacy with them lost her head for the forfeit, wherein the Duke of Norfolke suffer'd alsoe for her the losse of his. The Queene of England was very loath to execute this necessary iustice; but the true-hearted protestants of her councell, foreseeing the sad effects that might be expected, if ever she arriv'd to the crowne, urg'd it on[x], and after the death of Queene

x The signing and expediting the warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots is an enigma which has employed the wits of many to solve — perhaps this may be the true solution of it; it is at least clear that it thus appeared to well-informed persons, living in times when the thing was recent, and accounts for it more naturally than the mean jealousy attributed

Elizabeth, the wiser of them much oppos'd the admission of her son: but he dissembling the resentment of his mother's death, by bribes and greater promises, manag'd a faction in the court of the declining queene, which prevail'd on her dotage to destroy the Earle of Essex, who only had courage to have kept out him they thought dangerous to lett in.[y] So subtilly brought they their purpose about, that wise councell was in vaine to a blinded and betrey'd people. The antiprelaticall party hoping that with a king bred up among the Calvinists, they should now be freed from the episcopal yoake, were greedie of entertaining him, but soone cured of their mistake, when immediately after his entry into the kingdome, himselfe being moderator at a dispute betweene both parties, the non-conformists were cast out of doores, the offensive ceremonies, insteed of being remoov'd were

to Queen Elizabeth, which would in fact have been a better reason for putting her to death many years sooner.

[y] In Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, it is said that the Earl of Essex was much courted by the Puritans, and in return caressed them; that a title to the crown was drawn out for him, and he began to look up to it; that he encouraged an opinion, that inferior magistrates might curb and control their sovereign; that he was outwitted and brought to the scaffold by Cecil and Raleigh, very opportunely for King James, whose entrance might have been opposed and his title questioned.

more strictly impos'd, the penalties against papists relax'd, many of them taken into favour, those families who suffer'd for his mother grac'd and restor'd as farre as the times would beare, and those who consented any way to the iustice done upon her disfavour'd. A progresse was made suitable to this beginning, the protestant interest abroad was deserted and betrey'd, the prelates at home dayly exalted in pride and pomp, and declining in vertue and godlinesse. Arminianisme [z] crept in, to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they had the impudence to forbid preaching of those greate and necessary truths, concerning the decrees of God; secret treaties were entertained with the court of Rome [a], and notwithstanding that hellish pouder plott, the papists lost not their creditt at court, where they now wrought no longer by open and direct wayes, but humouring the king and queene in their lusts and excesses, found the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the gospell, was to debosh the professors. The court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance, he had brought in with him a company of

[z] James, however, professed himself a great enemy to it.

[a] The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers is half filled with them.

poore Scotts, who comming into this plentiful kingdome, surfetted with riott and debaucheries, and gott all the riches of the land only to cast away. The honor, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queene Elizabeth left it, were soon prodigally wasted by this thriftlesse heire, the nobility of the land utterly debas'd by setting honors to publick sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor meritt fit to weare, nor estates to beare up their titles, but were faine to invent proiects to pill[z] the people and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdnesse. The generality of the gentry of the land soone learnt the court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleannesse. To keepe the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtooke them, they were entertain'd with masks, stage playes, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murther, incest, adultery, drunkennesse, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no conceal'd but countenanc'd vices; because they held such conformity with the court example. Next to this, a greate cause of these abominations was the mixt marriages of papist and protestant famelies, which, no question, was a design of the

[z] Pill — pillage, plunder.

popish party to compasse and procure, and so successefull that I have observ'd that there was not one house of ten, where such a marriage was made, but the better party was corrupted, the childrens soules were sacrific'd to devills, the worship of God was laid aside in that famely, for feare of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants, and neighbours, either quite turn'd from it, or cool'd in their zeale for religion. As the fire is most fervent in a frosty season, so the generall apostacy from holinesse, if I may so call it, and defection to lewdnesse, stirr'd up sorrow, indignation, and feare, in all that retein'd any love of God in the land, whither ministers or people: the ministers warn'd the people of the approaching iudgements of God, which could not be expected but to follow such high provocations; God, in his mercy, sent his prophets into all corners of the land to preach repentance and cry out against the ingratitude of England, who thus requited so many rich mercies as no nation could ever boast of more; and by these a few were every where converted and established in faith and holinesse: but at court these were hated, disgrac'd, and revil'd, and in scorn had the name of Puritane[a] fix'd upon them. And now the

[a] This artifice of affixing a name of reproach on those of

ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godlinesse, under that name; so that their pulpitts might justly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flatter'd them in their vices and told the poore king that he was Solomon, that his sloth and cowardize, by which he betrey'd the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospell meekenesse and peaceablenesse, for which they rays'd him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning, and this they call'd the

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an opposite party, in order indiscriminately to subject them to hatred or ridicule, could hardly be better exposed than it is here. That Mrs. Hutchinson is guilty of no exaggeration, may well be conjectured from some speeches in parliament preserv'd by Rushworth, peculiarly one of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, at least a moderate man, if not a favourer of the king, complaining of the very same thing. Rushworth, vol. ii. 1355, "It is the artifice of the favourers of the catholick and of the prelatical party to call all who are sticklers for the constitution in church or state, or would square their actions by any rule humane or divine, Puritans." In the petition and remonstrance this is stated nearly in the same manner. It was no way inconsistent with the other injustices of the French revolutionists to invent the term of Aristocrat, and mark out by it every one whom the populace or their demagogues designed to plunder or destroy; it would not be so excuseable if in this country we should suffer cant terms or nicknames to pass for reasoning or proof. For the rest, the name of Puritan should have no bad meaning.

spiritt of wisedome, and so magnified him, so falsely flatter'd him, that he could not endure the words of truth and soundnesse, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithfull fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heav'd them up above a humane heighth: with their pride their envie swell'd against the people of God, whom they began to proiect how they might roote out of the land; and when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadful to the king that they fixt upon the Puritane, which, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hipocrite.

The king had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harbour'd a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employ'd a wicked cunning he was master of, and called king-craft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose, the true religion: this was fenc'd with the liberty of the people, and so link'd together, that 'twas impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyall to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civill obedience to the king and the

lawes of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God; he was presently reckon'd among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were griev'd at the dishonour of the kingdome, or the griping of the poore, or the unjust oppressions of the subiect, by a thousand wayes, invented to maintaine the riotts of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scots, the king had brought in to devoure like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civill honesty, discountenanc'd the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane, however he conform'd to their superstitious worship: if any shew'd favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, reliev'd them in want, or protected them against violent or uniust oppression, he was a Puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintain'd the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane: in short, all that crost the viewes of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the theevish proiectors, the lewd nobillity and gentrie, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oathes, ribbald conversation, prophane scoffes, sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like;

whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conversation or aniething good, all these were Puritanes; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the publick peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdome; such false logick did the children of darknesse use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholly, discontented, craz'd sort of men, not fitt for humane conversation[b]; as such they made them not only the sport of the pulpitt, which was become but a more solemne sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppett-play, belcht forth prophane scoffes upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, all fiddlers and mimicks learnt to abuse them, as finding it the most gamefull way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those dayes grew up to greate heighths and enmities, one against the other, while the Papist wanted

[b] Such is the idea entertained of them in general even at this day; whoever shall read these memoirs will be well convinced that not one of these qualities needs or does by any natural consequence accompany the character. It is a great misfortune that many of the zealous professors of piety should give it so austere an aspect, and this can never be better contrasted than by the cheerful and amiable one this professed Puritan gives it.

not industry and subtilty to blow the coals betweene them, and was so successeful that, unlesse the mercy of God confound them, by their owne imaginations, we may iustly feare they will at last obtane their full wish.

But to deale impartially, wee must, with sadnesse enough, confesse, that the wolfe came into the fold in a sheepe's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs, then he could have done in his owne skin; for it is true that many of witt and parts, discontented, when they could not obteine the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of the puritane party, and such were either bought of, or, if the adversary would not give their price, seduc'd their devout hearers, sometimes into undiscreete opposition, to worke out their owne revenge, others that had neither learning, nor friends, nor opertunities to arrive to any preferrements, would put on a forme of godlinesse, finding devout people that way so liberall to them, that they could not hope to enrich themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gaine to be made of the simple devotion of men and weomen, applied their witts to it, and collected greate summes for the advancement of their religious interest, of which they converted much to

their owne private uses. Such as these tempted the people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in humane pollicies, and found out wayes, by bribes and other not lesse indirect courses, to procure patrones at court, and to sett up against the prelates with countermines and other engines, which being of man's framing, were all at last broken.

The puritane party being weake and oppress'd, had not faith enough to disowne all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it requir'd more then humane wisedome to discerne at the least all of them, wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or encline towards them; and their enemies through envie at them augmented much their party, while, with iniuries and reproaches, they drove many, that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counterworking, the treasure of the kingdome being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments call'd to resupply the royall coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retain'd so much of the English spirit, as to represent the public grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account; but the king, grudging that his people should dare

to gainesay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernement, in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their privilledges, imprisoned their members for things spoken in the house, and grew disaffected to them, and entertain'd proiects of supplie by other grievances of the people. The prelates in the mean time, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them[c]; and now there was no more endeavour in their public sermons, to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation: the king, to bring it about, was deluded[d] into the treaty of a match for his sonne with the Infanta of Spaine; and the prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, privately sent into Spayne, from whence he difficultly came back, but to the greate reioycing of the whole people in generall, who were much aflicted at his going thither. During this treaty the papists got many advantages of the king, to the preiudice of the protestant interest at home and abroad, and the hearts of all but the papists

[c] The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers abounds with instances.

[d] It is very rare to see a delusion so long and successfully carried on as this appears to have been, at the expence of this modern Solomon, in the State Papers just mentioned.

of God's worship? such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops courts, fin'd, whipt, pillor'd, imprison'd, and suffer'd to enioy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient suff'rance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduc'd to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himselfe no monarch, so long as his will was confin'd to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreigne force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting aniething to the people, which he resolv'd should not obliege him longer then it serv'd his turne; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, iustice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his selfewill that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute uncontroulable soveraigne, that he was resolv'd either to be such a king or none. His firme adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more then another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be sav'd in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopall go-

verence to the king, to retire into corners to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteeme, and receiv'd encouragement from the king; who was a most excellent iudge and a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and prophane abusive witt, which was the only exercise of the other court. But as in the primitive times, it is observ'd that the best emperors were some of them stirr'd up by Sathan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this king was a worse encroacher upon the civill and spirituall liberties of his people by farre then his father. He married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spiritt, and a greate witt and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this meanes the court was replenisht with papists, and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion; all the papists in the kingdom were favour'd, and by the king's example, matcht into the best famelies; the puritanes more than ever discountenanc'd and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreigne soyle or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enioy the free exercise

of God's worship? such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops courts, fin'd, whipt, pillor'd, imprison'd, and suffer'd to enioy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient suff'rance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduc'd to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himselfe no monarch, so long as his will was confin'd to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreigne force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting aniething to the people, which he resolv'd should not obliege him longer then it serv'd his turne; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, iustice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his selfewill that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute uncontroulable soveraigne, that he was resolv'd either to be such a king or none. His firme adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more then another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be sav'd in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopall go-

vernment in the church, and therefore as the bishops flatter'd him with preaching up his soveraigne prerogative, and inveying against the puritanes as factious and disloyall, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practises against all the godly and sober people of the land.[f] In the first parliament after he came to the crowne the duke of Buckingham was impeacht concerning the death of king James, and other misdemeanors, but the present king, who had receiv'd him into the same degree of favour that he was with the former, would not endure the question of his favourite, and, to

[f] In note q, page 109, it has been shewn that their political, not their religious principles, were the criterion whereby the king judged the prelates of the church of England. That the same served for the church of Rome is shewn pretty clearly in the first volume of Clarendon's State Papers: where Mr. Courtenay having refused some compliances against conscience, and giving as his reason that "the king was not the "law maker, but the king and parliament, and that the king "has not a dispensing power," and father Scudamore, alias Leander, asserting that he has, Courtenay is committed to prison, held there, and a trial refused him; Leander protected, encouraged, and rewarded; and it is stated that "Laud was "at the helm of the king's councils in these matters." This opinion of the king's candour, or even indifference, as to the mode of religion, is stated in nearly the same manner in Rushworth, but it is not said on what authority. The Stuarts sported with and ruined all religions, and in turn were ruined by them.

deliver him from it, broke up the parliament, which gave too iust a suspition that he favour'd the practise; for it is true that the duke's mother, without the consent of the phisitians, had made an application to the wrists of the king for his ague, after which he died in his next fitt. Some other parliaments there were, but still abruptly broken up, when they putt forth any endeavour to redresse grievances. The protestants abroad were all lookt upon as puritanes, and their interest insteed of being protected, sadly betrey'd; ships lett out to the French king to serve against them; all the flower of the English gentry lost in an ill-manag'd expedition to the Isle of Rhee, under pretence of helping them, but so order'd that it proov'd the losse of Rochell, the strong fort and best defence of all the protestants in France. Those in Germany were no lesse neglected in all treaties, although his owne sister and her children were so highly concern'd. The whole people were sadly griev'd att these misgovernments, and loath to impute them to the king, cast all the odium upon the duke of Buckingham, whom at length a discontented person stabb'd, believing he did God and his country good service by it. All the kingdome, except the duke's owne dependents and kindred, reioyc'd in the death of this duke, but they

founde little cause, for after it the king still persisted in his designe of enslaving them, and found other ministers, ready to serve his selfe-will'd ambition, such as were Noy his attorney-generall, who sett on foote that hatefull tax of ship mony, and many more illegall exactions; and ten of the iudges who perverted iudgement in the cause of those who refus'd the illegall imposition; although there were even in that time found two honest iudges, who durst iudge rightly against the king, although he had chang'd the words usuall in their commissions, which were Quamdiu bene se gesserint,[g] into another forme, Durante bene placito. Besides these, and a greate rascally company of flatterers and proiectors, there were all the corrupted tott'ring bishops and others of the proud prophane clergy of the land, who, by their insolencies, growne odious to the people, bent their strong endeavours to disaffect the prince to his honest godly subiects, and to gett a pretence of power from him, to aflict those who would not submitt to their insolent dominion. But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evill councellors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canter-

[g] "Quamdiù bene se gesserint," during good behaviour, as long as they act right. "Durante bene placito," during the king's good pleasure.

bury, a fellow of meane extraction and arrogant pride, and the earl of Strafford, who as much outstript all the rest in favour as he did in abillities, being a man of deepe pollicy, sterne resolution, and ambitious zeale to keepe up the glory of his own greatnesse. In the beginning of this king's reign, this man had bene a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gain'd himselfe an honorable reputation, and was dreadfull to the court party, who thereupon strew'd snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soule was that way enter'd and captivated. He was advanc'd first to be lord president of the councell in the north, to be a baron, after an earle, then deputy of Ireland; the neerest to a favourite of any man since the death of the duke of Buckingham, who was rays'd by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personall worth or any deserving abillities in him, but only upon violent and private inclinations of the princes; but the earle of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desir'd in the most serviceable minister of state: besides he having made himselfe odious to the people, by his revolt from their interest to that of the oppressive court, he was now obliged to keepe up his owne interest with his new party, by all the mallitious

practices that pride and revenge could inspire him with.[h] But above all these the king had another instigator of his owne violent purpose, more powerfull then all the rest, and that was the queene, who, growne out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vaine extravagancies she liv'd in at first, to that which did lesse become her, and was more fatall to the kingdome, which never is in any place happie, where the hands which were made only for distaffes affect the management of sceptres. — If any one obiect the fresh example of Queen Elizabeth, let them remember that the felicity of her reigne was the effect of her submission to her masculine and wise councellors; but wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer weomen of foreigne birth and different religions to entermeddle with the affairs of state, it is alwayes found to produce sad desolations; and it hath bene observ'd that a French queene never brought any happinesse to England: some kind of fatality too the English imagin'd to be in her name of Marie, which, 'tis said, the king rather chose to have her call'd by then her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had

h Called by Lord Digby the grand apostate of the commonwealth.

bene more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a greate prince, to controule destiny. This lady being by her priests affected with the meritoriousnesse of advancing her owne religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her greate witt and parts, and the power her haughty spiritt kept over her husband, who was enslav'd in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him then what serv'd to promote her designes. Those brought her into a very good correspondency with the archbishop and his prelaticall crew, both ioyning in the cruell designe of rooting the godly out of the land. The foolish protestants were meditating reconcilliations with the church of Rome, who embrac'd them as far as they would goe, carrying them in hand, as if there had bene a possibility of bringing such a thing to passe: meanewhile they carried on their designe by them, and had so ripened it, that nothing but the mercy of God prevented the utter subversion of protestantisme in the three kingdomes.—But how much soever their designes were fram'd in the darke, God reveal'd them to his servants, and most miraculously order'd providences for their preservation. About the yeare 1639 the Scots, having the English service booke obtruded upon them violently, refus'd it, and tooke a nationall

covenant against it, and enter'd England with a greate armie, to bring their complaints to the king, which his unfaithfull ministers did much, as they suppos'd, misreport. The king himselfe leavied an army against them, wherein he was assisted by the nobility and gentry, but most of all by the prelates, insomuch that the warre got the name of bellum episcopale;[i] but the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claime their just liberties. When the king was at Yorke, the chiefe of the Scotch covenanters came, under a pretence of treating with the king, but their chiefe intent was to disabuse[k] the nobillity of England, and to take of their edge against them by remonstrating those grievances and oppressions from the prelaticall innovators, which had forc'd them thus to defend their religion and liberties. This they did so effectually, that the hearts of the English were much mooved towards them, and the king perceiving it, by their mediations, consented to a dissembled peace for that time, and return'd home. But the Scots unsatisfied in the performance of their articles, made preparation for a second returne into England; whereupon the king in his anger and

[i] The bishops' war.

[k] Disabuse, from the French *desabuser*, to undeceive.

necessity, was forc'd to have recourse to the long neglected remedie of parliaments, and assembled one at Westminster the 13th of April 1640, which he suffer'd to sitt but 21 dayes, and broke it up againe, apprehending that if he had suffer'd them to sitt a day longer, they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute.

The bishops at that time devised as an anti-covenant, in their convocation house, that execrable oath knowne by the name of the *etcætera*, wherein all ministers were required to sweare to uphold the government of the church of England by archbishops, deanes, archdeacons, &c. After this the Scots enter England, the king makes a second expedition into the north against them, and sends part of his armie to keepe the passes upon the river Tine: but the souldiers being raw and heartlesse to this warre, and the commanders themselves unexperienc'd, they were vanquisht, and the Scotts forc'd their way, after they had bene refus'd to passe quietly by, with their petitions in their hands, and thus possess'd themselves of Newcastle and Durham. At that time the Scotts had put forth a declaration, wherein they had affirm'd their intentions not to lay downe arms till the reform'd religion were settled in both

nations upon sure grounds, and the causers of these present troubles brought to publick iustice, and that in a parliament. This was so plausible to the English, that the king, finding both the hearts and hands of his people faile him in this occasion, was induc'd to grant the petition of twelve noble lords, who at that time interpos'd, and calling together all his lords at Yorke, agreed upon a parliament at London, to convene the third of November following. In the meane time there was a treaty condiscended to of sixteene lords of each side Scotch and English, who agreed upon a cessation betweene both armies for the presentt, in order to a peace, to be concluded at London with the parliament who mett as appoynted in November.

They began with throwing downe monopolies, and then impeacht the earle of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemne triall and hot disputes on both sides, was at length attainted of treason, and the king, against his owne mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to death.[k] The archbishop of Canterbury

[k] Whoever has read the propositions delivered to his majesty by the earl of Strafford, for bridling of parliaments and increase of his revenue, which is preserved in the third volume of Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 322, ingenious, bold, and dangerous beyond example, will think him richly to have deserved his fate, but not at the hand of Charles, who herein acted so treacherously by his friends, that their very adversaries are

was alsoe made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffer'd[1]; Wren bishop of Norwich was likewise committed to the Tower; severall other prelaticall preachers were question'd for popish and treasonable doctrines; the starre chamber, an uniust and arbitrary court, was taken away,

shocked at it, and fixed on his reputation a deep and indelible stain; accordingly he seems all his life long to have borne in mind an incessant regret of this crime. As it was a thing thought of but little consequence at the time, perhaps it will ere long be forgotten that Louis the Sixteenth suffered sentence of death to be executed on a Mr. De Favras for planning to assist him, or his brother, or both, to escape, but when he did really effect his escape in part, there appeared great earnestness and zeal in stopping him! Did he not merit this?

May says that the cause of Lord Strafford's condemnation was a note produced by Sir H. Vane, proving that as a privy counsellor he had proposed to the king to bring his army from Ireland to reduce this kingdom to obedience; but Ludlow's seems the stronger reason.

[1] It may well be doubted whether it was justifiable to change the proceedings against Laud from impeachment to attainder, in order to vote his death, which the law would not have condemned him to; but certainly deposition and banishment at least were due to the man who brought ruin and disgrace upon that pure and moderate system of religion of which he was the unworthy head: that to his conduct its ruin was principally attributable may be clearly seen by the speeches preserved by Rushworth, in his fourth volume, of Lord Digby, Falkland, Fiennes, and especially Grimston. At this day there is perhaps hardly to be found a son of the church who would condescend to meddle in such base projects as this archbishop assiduously employed himself in.

and the high-commision court; an act was procur'd for a trienniall parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their owne consents. There were greate necessities for mony by reason of the two armies that were then maintain'd in England, and the people would give the king no mony without some ease of grievances, which forc'd him against his inclination to grant those bills, which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his owne[m] hands, and therefore privately encourag'd plotts that were in those times contriv'd against the parliament. One of them was to have rescued the earle of Strafford out of prison, and put him in the head of eight thousand Irish, which the king would not consent to disband, when the parliament had some time before moov'd him to it; then the English armie in the north should have bene brought up and engag'd against the parlia-

[m] This act for perpetuating the parliament was in fact that which gave them a clear ascendency over the king. The proposing this, as it shewed the ingenuity and judgment of Mr. Pierrepont, to whom Mrs. Hutchinson attributes it, so does it the weakness of the king and his counsellors, who having granted this, had no longer any power of refusal left.—For extraordinary evils extraordinary remedies are often sought; but this, as it soon proved too strong for the king, so was it at last thought too strong for the people. The omnipotence of parliament would be indeed dreadful alike to both if, instead of being amovible, it was permanent.

ınt itselfe upon a pretence of maintaining
e king's prerogative, episcopacy, and some
ıer such things. This plott was manag'd by
ırcy, Germyn, Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham,
ıllard, Suckling, O'Neale, and others, of
ıom some confess'd and impeach'd their
lows, others fled, others were put in prison.
hile this parliament was sitting, the king
ıuld needs, contrary to their desires, take
iourney to Scotland, and past by the two
ıbanding armies in his iourney, where some
ɔort that he secretly attempted to urge the
otch armie against the parliament, which
ɐn succeeded not. The houses had re-
ırned for some time, and left a standing
mmittee of fifty to prepare businesses.
ɔout that time a plott was discover'd to
ɐm from Scotland, against the lives of some
the greatest peeres of that kingdome; the
mmittee, fearing the like attempts from
e same spring, placed strong guards in
ɾers parts of the citie of London. The
ıg's designe in going to Scotland was vari-
sly coniectur'd, but this was a certeine ef-
ɛt of it, that it retarded all the affaires of
e government of England, which the king
d put into such disorder that it was not an
ɜie taske to reforme what was amisse, and
lresse the reall grievances of the people;
t yet the parliament shew'd such a wonder-

full respect to the king, that they never mention'd him, as he was, the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evill councellors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have bene us'd to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evill councellors and ministers of state, which flattery I feare they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby expos'd themselves to much scandall.[n] While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above 200,000 were massacred in two months space, being surpriz'd, and many of them most inhumanely butcher'd and tormented; and besides the slaine, abundance of poore famelies stript and sent naked away, out of all their possessions; and, had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprize of Dublin castle, the night it should have bene seiz'd there had not bene any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. As soone as this sad newes came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the worke of relieving them,

[n] This is an oversight of Mrs. Hutchinson's, of which she is seldom guilty. Good policy required then, as it does now, that the king should be held incapable of wrong, and the criminality fixed on ministers, who are amenable to the law. If the patriots of that day were the inventors of this maxim, we are highly obliged to them.

but then the king return'd from Scotland, and being sumptuously welcomed home by the citie, tooke courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all their proceedings for the effectuall reliefe of Irelande. Long was he before he could be drawne to proclaime these murtherers rebells, and when he did, by speciall command, these were but 40 proclamations printed, and care taken that they should not be much dispers'd; which courses aflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirm'd that the rebellion in Ireland receiv'd countenance from the king and queene of England.[o] The parliament, besett with so many difficulties, were forc'd for their owne vindication to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance of the

[o] It would be difficult to draw a distinction so nice as would discriminate between the countenance shewn to the rebels both before and after the rebellion breaking out, and the encouraging the rebellion itself: now that passion and prejudice have subsided there are probably many more that condemn than acquit the king and queen; but whilst the blood of the massacred protestants yet reeked, and indignation glowed, it was neither to be wondered at nor blamed that persons the most tolerant, as the independants professed to be, and Mrs. Hutchinson especially, should speak with enmity of the queen and the catholics, and attribute to them those principles of intolerance and antipathy to protestants which, whether they professed or not, they practised. It will hereafter be seen that, when they ceased to be dangerous, Mr. Hutchinson did not persecute, but protect them.

state of the kingdome, wherein they spared him as much as truth would beare, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answer'd with another declaration of his, and upon severall occasions, the parliament being enforc'd to iustifie their proceedings publickly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedie. The citie declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observ'd to entertaine an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poore unarm'd men that pass'd by his house at Whitehall, and the parliament conceiving themselves not safe, desir'd a guard might be allow'd them under the command of the Earle of Essex; but he refus'd it, with an asurance that he would command such a guard to waite upon them as he would be responsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as deare to him as that of his owne person and children. Yet the very next day after this false message he came to the house of commons, attended with his extraordinary guard, of about four hundred gentlemen and souldiers, arm'd with swords and pistolls, and there demanded five of their members, whom

not finding there (for a greate lady at court had before inform'd one of them of his coming, and the house ordered them to retire) he return'd, leaving the house under a high sense of this breach of their priviledge.[p] At this time the people began in greate numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament, to beg a more chearefull concurrence betweene them for the reliefe of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honor-

[p] The force of opinion being the only real force of any prince, and the notion of inviolability his best protection, it was a strange infatuation in him to overthrow them both.

> Turno tempus erit magno cùm optaverit emptum
> Intactum Pallanta, et cùm spolia illa, diemque
> Oderit. VIRG. Æn. 10.
>
> *The time shall come when Turnus, but in vain,*
> *Shall wish untouch'd the trophies of the slain,*
> *And curse the dire remembrance of that day.* DRYDEN.

An English gentleman, who was resident in France at the time that Louis the Sixteenth sent his guards to the parliament of Paris to seize some of the members (one of whom was the famous Duval Despresmenil), and sent out decrees and manifestoes, as has been here just before related, made this remark, 'He has entered upon the career of Charles the First, and he will follow it to the end.' *Il est entré dans la carriere de Charles I, et il la suivra jusqu'au bout.* When he saw again in England, as emigrants, the same French gentlemen before whom he had made this remark, they reminded him of it; saying how little probable this had seemed to them at the period of its being spoken, a year before the holding of the states general!

able endeavours for the reliefe of both kingdomes. The king was offended at this, and retir'd first to Hampton-court, then went with the queene to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into Holland with her daughter, lately married to the prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her owne court, but really to manage his businesse abroad, and procure arms to be employ'd against the parliament, by the sale of the crowne iewells, which she carried over with her. After her departure the king, taking the prince and the duke of Yorke with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to returne to his parliament and abide neere London, and that he would not carry the prince away with him, and that he would grant the millitia of the kingdome to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in; all which he denied, and went immediately to New-market, and from thence to Yorke; all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the reliefe of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poore people of England into blood and ruin.

In conducting the state of England, in those dayes, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part, in this greate tragedy, I have bene too long for that I intended, and too short to give a cleare

understanding of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause[q]; which I shall desire you to informe yourselves better of by their owne printed papers, and Mr. Maye's history, which I find to be impartially true, so farre as he hath carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his owne iudgment, and misinformations which some vaine people gave of the state, and more indulgence to the king's guilt then can iustly be allow'd.

To take up my discourse of Mr. Hutchinson where I left it, he was now come to his owne house at Owthorpe, about the time when the Irish massacre was acted, and finding humors begin to be very stirring, he applied himselfe to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the publick papers that came forth, betweene the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly inform'd in his understanding, and convinc'd in conscience, of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right; and

[q] Probably few people will think Mrs. Hutchinson has been too prolix, many will that she has been too concise. Mr. May's history comes down only to September, 1643, which is much to be regretted, as he may justly be called an impartial and clear historian, but is little read, probably because his history finishes before that period which was the most interesting.

though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce[r] poperie and subvert the true protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not thinke that so cleare a ground of the warre, as the defence of the iust English liberties[s]; and although he was clearly sway'd by his owne iudgement and reason to the parliament, he thinking he had no warrantable call, at that time, to do aniething more, contented himselfe with praying for peace. At that time Mr. Henry Ireton was in the country, and being a kinsman of Mr. Hutchinson's and one that had receiv'd so much advantage to himselfe and his famely

[r] Reduce, Latin *reducere*, to bring back, restore, revive.

[s] This observation clearly shows that Mr. Hutchinson did not suffer his zeal for religion to run into fanaticism, so as to mislead his judgment in political matters, and is in unison with a sentiment which appears in May's history, who, in pages 115, 116, and 117, shews by various facts and arguments, "that "laws and liberties having been so much violated by the king, "if the parliament had not so far drawn religion also into "their cause, it might have sped better; that by doing it they "frequently weakened their reasoning, and assuredly lost a "more considerable party of gentlemen than they gained."

Had he continued his history to the end he would probably have remarked that by thus forcing religion into their service, and making as it were a tool of it, they found it had two edges, and, as it well might, proved rather more destructive to them than their adversaries, as it served to disunite the parliament, to whose very existence union was necessary.

in the country by Sr. Thomas Hutchinson's countenance and protection, that he seem'd a kind of dependant upon him, being besides a very grave, serious, religious, person; there was a greate league of kindnesse and good will betweene them.[t] Mr. Ireton being very

[t] As it will be seen in the sequel that Mr. Hutchinson reposed a very great confidence in Ireton, and even allowed to the information he received from him such weight in forming his judgment as he did to that of no one else, it may be well to examine how far the one was deserving, and the other discerning, in this.

The question will be probably decided to general satisfaction upon the testimony of Whitelock and Ludlow, men of very different dispositions, but both of great good sense and knowledge of their subject. Whitelock, in speaking of some reforms proposed in the election and composition of the house of commons, says, "Ireton was chiefly employed in them, "having learned some grounds of law, and having a laborious "and working brain and fancy." When he comes to speak of the reforms of the law which Ireton likewise meditated he says, "he was a man full of invention and industry, who had "a little knowledge of the law, which led him into the more "errors." But when by his death the jealousy lest he should bring about those reforms which Whitelock, and most of the lawyers, were averse to, had ceased, he says of him, page 516, "this gentleman was a person very active, industrious, and "stiff in his ways and purposes; he was of good abilities for "council as well as action, made much use of his pen, and "was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein "his having been bred a lawyer was a great help to him. He "was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in councils; "exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. "Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could

active in promoting the parliament, and the godly interest in the country, found greate opposition by some proiectors and others of corrupt interest that were in commission of the peace, whereupon making complaint at the parliament, he procur'd some of them to be put out of the commission, and others, better affected, to be put into their roomes, of which Mr. Hutchinson was one; but he then forbore to take his oath, as not willing to lanch out rashly into publick employments, while such a storme hung threat'ning over head; yet his good affections to godlinesse and the interest of his country, being a glory that could not be conceal'd, many of his honest neighbours made applications to him, and endeavoured to gaine his conduct, which he at first in modesty and prudence would not

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" prevail so much, nor order him so far, as Ireton could." But Ludlow, who viewed him more constantly and closely in a post of great power and temptation, that of deputy of Ireland, being himself next in command to him, gives the following account of his conduct in one instance, which will render all others superfluous. " The parliament also ordered an act to be " brought in for settling two thousand per annum on the lord- " deputy Ireton, the news of which being brought over was so " unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, " which he desired they would pay before they made any " such presents; that he had no need of their land, and would " not have it; and that he should be more contented to see " them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in dis- " posing of the public treasure."

too hastily rush into.[u] The parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches: within two miles of his house there was a church, where Christ upon the crosse, the virgin, and John, had bene fairly sett up in a windore over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings, of the priest's owne ordering, were drawne upon the walls. When the order for razing out those reliques of superstition came, the priest only tooke downe the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closett, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desir'd him that he would take the paynes to come and view their church, which he did, and upon discourse with the parson, persuade him to blott out all the superstitious payntings, and breake the images in the glasse; which he consented to, but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of Puritane.

At that time most of the gentry of the country were disaffected to the parliament,

[u] Mr Hutchinson being born in the latter end of the year 1616, was only about three-and-twenty years old at this period; when some may think this modesty became him. It was not the fashion of those times to arrive at the perfection of wisdom and judgment so early as in our days!

most of the middle sort, the able substantiall freeholders, and the other commons, who had not their dependance upon the malignant nobillity and gentry, adher'd to the parliament. These, when the king was at Yorke, made a petition to him, to returne to the parliament, which upon their earnest entreaty Mr. Hutchinson went, with some others, and presented at Yorke[x], where meeting his cousins

[x] Persons of the description which now bears the name of Yeomanry, seem to have been passed over by Charles and his advisers as of little consequence, and perhaps this was the real ground of the grand error they were in of supposing they had all or most of the strength of the nation with them, because they had most of the nobility and richer gentry; whereas it was found, when a general movement took place, that the great bulk of the people was against them, and like an overwhelming tide, bore down all before it. Yet he and they had abundant warnings by this and such like petitions, and by associations which began very early to be entered into; or still earlier in the expedition against the Scots, wherein the averseness of the common soldiers to the war was so evident, that it compelled the patching up a peace. "And, astonishing as "it might be, (says May, p. 64), it was seen that the com-"mon people were sensible of public interest and religion, "when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be." It is true that the mass of the people, having little time for contemplation, are content to let those to whom affluence gives leisure think for them; but when they do think for themselves and strongly adopt a sentiment, he is a bold man, and ought to have astonishing resources who contravenes it. That will be generally, if not always, found the wiser government which informs itself well as to the real bent of the public mind: and,

the Birons, they were extremely troubled to see him there, on that account. After his returne, Sr. John Biron being likewise come to his house at Newsted, Mr. Hutchinson went to visit him there, and not finding him, return'd to Nottingham, five miles short of his owne house. There, going to the mayor to hear some newes, he mett with such as he expected not, for as soone as he came in, the mayor's wife told him, that the sheriffe of the county was come to fetch away the magazine that belong'd to the trained bands of the county, which was left in her husband's trust, and that her husband had sent for the country to acquaint them, but she fear'd it would be gone before they could come in, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, taking his brother from his lodgings allong with him, presently went to the towneshall, and going up to my Lord Newark[v], lord lieftenant

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if it is misled by a faction, takes the way of candour and frankness to dispel the mist of error or prejudice, but avoids to do violence to the general opinion. The Editor of this work is proud of being the first person who, two years before its adoption, suggested an appeal to the sense and spirit of the nation by the association of armed volunteers.

[v] Eldest son of the Earl of Kingston, and brother of two Mr. Pierreponts mentioned in this work; this nobleman was afterwards created Marquis of Dorchester, and will be spoken of under that title in the sequel. — In the Diary mentioned in the second page of the Preface the Dialogue between Lord

told him, that hearing some dispute concerning the countries pouder, he was come

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Newark and Mr Hutchinson, is set down at full length, and as it may be an object of curiosity to some of our readers it is here inserted in a smaller type.

Mr. Hutchinson asking who were above, he was told that the lord lieftenant, my Lord Newark, was there, to whom he sent his name and desired to speake with him; and being come up, found in the roome, where the pouder was weighing, my Lord Newark, the sheriffe Sir John Digbie, and two or three captaines: Mr. Hutchinson, addressing himself to my lord only, spoke to him —

H. My Lord, hearing that there was some question, concerning the county's powder, I am come to kisse your lordship's hands, and to beseech you that I may know what your desires and intents are concerning it?

N. Cousin, the king desires to borrow it of the country to supply his greate necessities.

H. I beseech your lordship, what commission have you to demand this?

N. Upon my honor, I have a commission from his majestie, but it is left behind me: but I will engage my honor it shall be repaid the country.

H. Your lordship's honor is an engagement, would be accepted for more than I am worth; but in such an occasion as this, the greatest man's engagement in the kingdome cannot be a satisfaction to the country.

N. The king's intents are only to borrow it, and if the country will not lend it, he will pay for it.

H. My lord, 'tis not the vallue of the pouder we endeavour to preserve, but in times of danger, as these are, those things which serve for our defence, are not valluable at any price, should you give us as many barrells of gold as you take barrells of pouder.

to waite on his Lordship, to know his desires and intents concerning it. My Lord

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N. Upon my faith and honor, cousin, it shall be restored in ten dayes.

H. My Lord, such is the danger of the times, that for aught we know, we may in lesse than foure days be ruined for want of it; and I beseech your lordship to consider, how sad a thing it is, in these times of warre, to leave a poore country and the people in it, naked and open to the iniury of every passenger; for if you take our pouder, you may as well take our armes, without which we are unable to make use of them, and I hope your lordship will not disarme the country.

N. Why who should the country feare? I am their lord lieftenant and engag'd with my life and honor to defend them! what danger are they in?

H. Danger, yes, my lord, greate danger; there is a troope of horse now in the towne, and it hath often hap'ned so that that they have committed greate outrages and insolencies, calling divers honest men puritanes and rogues, with divers other provoking terms and carriages; I myself was abused by some of them, as I passed on the roade: I chanced to meete some of these gentlemen, who, assoone as I was past, enquired my name, and being told it, gave me another, saying among themselves, that I was a puritane and a traitor; as two or three honest men that came behind told me. Besides your lordship may be farre of, and we ruin'd before you can come to us, being unarm'd and not able to defend ourselves from any body, and this country being a roade through which, under the name of souldiers, rude people dayly passe from the north to south and terrifie the country; which if they knew to be naked and unarmed, they would thereby be encouraged to greater insolencies and mischiefes.

N. The king's occasions are such and so urgent as I cannot dispence with it for any reasons, but must needs have it.

answer'd him, that the king, having greate necessities, desir'd to borrow it of the coun-

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H. I hope your lordship will not denie that the country hath a right, interest, and propertie in it.

N. I do not denie it.

H. Then my lord, I hope his maiestie will not command it from them.

N. No, he doth but desire to borrow it.

H. Then, I hope, if he doe but desire to borrow it, his maiestie hath signified his request to those that have interest in it, under his hand.

N. Upon my honor he hath, but I left it behind me.

H. I beseeche your lordship then, that you would not take it away, till you have acquainted the country with it, who only have power to lend it; and if your lordship be pleased to doe this, I will engage myselfe that by to-morrow at twelve of the clock, that part of the country who have interest in the pouder, shall all waite on your lordship and give you their resolutions.

N. The king's occasions cannot admit of that delay.

H. I beseech of your lordship, yet be pleas'd to consider the dangerous consequence of taking it without the countries consent, and be pleased but to stay 'till they can come in.

N. That time is more than his maiesties necessities can dispence withall.

With that Mr. Hutchinson went downe staires, where by that time a good company of the country were gathered together, to whom Mr. Hutchinson told what my lord had say'd to him, and they desired him that he would but stand to them, and they would part with every drop of blood out of their bodies before he should have it; and say'd besides, that they would go up and breake my lord's neck and the sheriff's out of the windores; but Mr. Hutchinson desired them to stay below, till he had once more spoken to my lord, and then,

try. Mr. Hutchinson ask'd my lord what commission he had from his majestie. My lord

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taking only one or two more with him, went up and spoke to my lord.

H. My Lord, I am againe, at the request of the countrie, that are below, come to your lordship, and doe once more humbly beseeche you to consider the businessse you are about, before you proceed further in it, for it may proove of dangerous consequence if you go on.

N. Cousin, I am confident it cannot, for the countrie will not denie this to the king.

H. It's very probable they will not, if your lordship please to have patience, till they can be call'd in, that they may be acquainted with his maiesties desires.

N. His maiesty is very well assured of the willingnesse and cheerfulnesse of the greater part of the country to it.

H. My Lord, I doe not know what assurance his maiesty hath of it, but if you please to look out of this window, (pointing to the countrymen below in the streets), you will see no inconsiderable number gathered, who I feare will not be willing to part with it.

N. Those are but some few factious men, not to be considered.—

H. My lord, we have bene happy yet, in these unhappy differences, to have had no blood shed, and I am confident your lordship is so noble and tender of your country, that it would very much trouble you, to have a hand in the first man's blood that should be spent in this quarrel.

N. Cousin, it cannot come to that, feare it not, (this was spoken very slightly and contemptuously,) his maiesties occasions are urgent and must be serv'd.—

(With that, the country came very fast up, which when the cavalier captaines saw, they slunk downe.)

H. Why then, my lord, I must plainely tell you, not one

told him he had one, but he had left it behind. Mr. Hutchinson replied, that my lord's

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here but will loose every drop of blood in his body before he will part with one corne of it, without your lordship can shew either a command or a request for it under his maiesties hand and seale, or that the countrie be call'd together to give their free consent to it, for we have all propertie and interest in it being members of this county, and it being bought with our money, for the particular defence and safetie of the same.

My lord desired to borrow part of it, but that being denied, he turned to Sr. John Digbie and took him to the window, where, after he had whispered with him a while, Sr. John Digbie laid downe his pen, inke, and paper, with which he had been taking an account of the pouder, match, and bullet. The countrymen desired my lord aloud, that he would not take away their pouder, out of the country; upon which, turning to them he thus spoke—

"Gentlemen, his maiesty was assured by some of the cheerfullnesse of this country's affections to him, which I am very sorry to see so much failing in, and that the countrie should come so much short of this towne, which hath cheerfully lent his maiestie one barrell of pouder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you doe not repent this carriage of yours towards his maiestie, which he must be acquainted withall."

A countryman, standing forth, asked his lordship this question, "Whether, if he were to take a iourney into a place where probably he might be set upon by thieves and robbers, and having a charge about him, if any friend should aske him to lend his sword, he would part with it and goe himself without?" My lord, the case is ours, our wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this countries safetie; and how can it be safe in these dangerous times; when soe many troopes and companies passe through and commit outrages and abuses

affirmation was satisfactory to him, but the country would not be willing to part with their

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among us, if we have not armes and pouder wherewith to defend us?

My Lord made no replie, but bade the men whom he had employ'd to weigh up the pouder desist; and soe went downe the staires. Mr. Hutchinson follow'd him, and as he went, an auncient gentleman, who was with my lord, whose face and name were both unknowne to him, came to him and sayd these words:—"Stand to it, I'll warrand you, gentlemen, it is well done." And as they pass'd through a low roome, my lord tooke Mr. Hutchinson aside, and sayd.

N. Cousin, I must acquaint the king with this!

H. My Lord, it's very likely you must, being employ'd upon his maiesties service, give him an account.

N. Nay cousin, (smiling), I meane not soe, but I must acquaint him, and I am sorry I must, that you are the head and ringleader of a faction, whereby you hinder his maiesties service.

H. My Lord, I doe not conceive how this can be a faction, I speaking only, out of the noble respect and honor I beare your lordship, in private to you, to prevent a mischiefe, the sence of these men, who I perceiv'd were come to know by what authoritie, and why, their pouder, which is their proper goods, and only means of safetie, in these times of danger, should be taken from them; and if it were a faction, I am not the head of it, I, accidentally coming to towne from Sr. John Biron's last night, and neither knowing nor imagining any of this businesse, was this morning importun'd to waite on your lordship, at the town's hall, by many countrymen, who inform'd me you were taking away their pouder out of the country.

N. Cousin if you can answer it, I shall be glad of it: but I'll assure you I must let his maiestie know.

pouder in so dangerous a time, without an absolute command: my lord urged that he would restore it in ten dayes, Mr. Hutchinson replied, they might have use of it sooner, and he hoped my lord would not disarme his country in such a time of danger: my lord contemn'd the mention of danger, and ask'd what they could feare while he was their lord lieftenant and ready to serve them with his life: Mr. Hutchinson told him of some grounds to apprehend danger by reason of the dayly passing of armed men through the country, whereof there was now one troope in the towne, and that before they could repayre to

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H. If his maiestie must know it, I am very happy I spoke to none but your lordship; who, I am confident, is so noble that you will neither adde nor diminish aniething to my preiudice, and then I am confident the iustnesse and reasonablenesse of what I have say'd, with my own innocencie in speaking it, will beare me out.

N. I, cousin, but your name is up alreadie.

H. It may be soe, my lord; and I believe those that sett it up had no good wishes to me, and as it rose, soe in the name of God, let it fall; for I know my owne clearenesse and innocencie in aniething that can be obiected against me.

N. Well, cousin, well; I am glad of your good resolution.

And so my lord left him. The gentlemen of the country that were there, upon consideration, what they should doe with their pouder, determin'd to returne my lord thanks for sparing it, and to lock it up with two locks, whereof the sheriffe should have one key, and the mayor another: which accordingly was done; but Mr. Hutchinson came no more at my lord.

man allmost was fancying a forme* of government, and angrie, when this came forth, that his invention tooke not place; and among these John Lilbourne, a turbulent-spirited man, that never was quiet in any thing, publisht libells, and the levellers made a disturbance with a kind of insurrection, which Cromwell soon appeased, they indeed being betrey'd by their owne leaders.

But how the publique business went on, how Cromwell finisht the conquest of Ireland, how the angrie presbiterians spitt fire out of their pulpitts, and endeavour'd to blow up the people against the parliament, how they enter'd into a treasonable conspiracy with Scotland, who had now receiv'd and crown'd the sonne of the late king, who led them in hither in a greate armie, which the Lord of Hosts discomfited; how our publick ministers were assassinated and murther'd in Spayne and Holland, and how the Dutch, in this unsettlement of affaires, hoped to gaine by making warre, wherein they were beaten and brought to sue for peace, I shall leave to the stories that were then written, and only in

* A natural consequence of great popular revolutions, in which the modern French have had the glory of outdoing all the world!

generall say that the hand of God was mightily seene in prospering and preserving the parliament till Cromwell's ambition unhappily interrupted them. Mr. Hutchinson was chosen into the first councell of state, much against his owne will; for, understanding that his cousin Ireton was one of the commissioners to nominate that councell, he sent his wife to him, before he went to the house, that morning they were to be named, to desire him, upon all the scores of kindred and kindnesse that had bene betweene them, that he might be left out, in regard that he had allready wasted his time and his estate in the parliament service; and having neither had recompense for his losses, nor any office of benefitt, it would finish his ruine, to be tied by this employment to a close and chargeable attendance, besides the inconvenience of his health, not yet thoroughly confirm'd, his constitution more suitable to an active than to a sedentary life: these and other things he privately urg'd to him; but he, that was a man regardless of his owne or any man's private interest, wherever he thought the publick service might be advantag'd, instead of keeping him out, got him in, when the collonell had prevail'd with others to have indulg'd him that ease he desir'd. Mr. Hutchinson, after he had endeavour'd to decline this em-

ployment and could not, thought that herein, as in other occasions, it being put upon him without his owne desire, God had call'd him to his service in councells as formerly in arms, and applied himselfe to this alsoe, wherein he did his duty faithfully, and employ'd his power to relieve the oppressed and deiected, freely becomming the advocate of those who had bene his late enemies, in all things that were iust and charitable. Though he had now an oppertunity to have enricht himselfe, as 'tis to be fear'd some in all times have done, by accepting rewards for even iust assistances, and wanted not many who offer'd them and sollicited him therein, yet such was his generous nature that he abhorr'd the mention of aniething like reward, though never so iustly merited, and although he did a thousand high oblieging kindnesses for many, both friends and enemies, he never had aniething in mony or presents of any man.* The truth is, on the

* The lists of the two first councils, which embraced almost the whole duration of the republic, are preserved by Whitelock, and Col. Hutchinson is in each of them: he went out at the formation of the third. It is extremely to be regretted that Mrs. Hutchinson should have been so concise in this part of her history, it being a period which naturally excites much curiosity, but of which we have only indistinct, and, generally speaking, invidious and partial accounts.

contrary, he mett with many that had not the good manners to make so much as a civill verball acknowledgment. Among the rest, one Sr. John Owen may stand for a pillar of ingratitude. This man was wholly unknowne to him, and with Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, the Lord Capell, and the Lord Goring, condemn'd to death by a second high court of iustice. Of this though the collonell was nominated a commissioner, he would not sitt, his unbloody nature desiring to spare the rest of the delinquents, after the highest had suffer'd, and not delighting in the death of men, when they could live without cruelty to better men. The parliament alsoe was willing to shew mercy to some of these, and to execute others for example; whereupon the whole house was diversely engag'd, some for one and some for another of these lords, and striving to cast away those they were not concern'd in, that they might save their friends. While there was such mighty labour and endeavour for these lords, Coll. Hutchinson observ'd that no man spoke for this poore knight, and sitting next to Coll. Ireton, he express'd himselfe to him and told him, that it pittied him much to see that, while all were labouring to save the the lords, a gentleman, that stood in the same condemnation, should not find one friend to

aske his life; "and so," sayd he, "am I "moov'd with compassion that, if you will se- "cond me, I am resolv'd to speake for him, "who, I perceive, is a stranger and friend- "lesse." Ireton promis'd to second him, and accordingly enquiring further of the man's condition, whether he had not a petition in any member's hand, he found that his keepers had brought one to the clearke of the house, but the man had not found any one that would interest themselves for him, thinking the lords' lives of so much more concernment then this gentleman's. This the more stirr'd up the collonell's generous pitty, and he took the petition, deliver'd it, spoke for him so nobly, and was so effectually seconded by Ireton, that they carried his pardon clear. Yet although one who knew the whole circumstance of the businesse, how Mr. Hutchinson, moov'd by meere compassion and generosity, had procur'd his life, told him, who admir'd his owne escape, how it came about, he never was the man that so much as once came to give him thankes; nor was his fellow prisoner Goring, for whom the collonell had alsoe effectually sollicited, more grateful.*

* This is differently represented by Whitelock, Rapin, and Ludlow. Whitelock says simply that he was reprieved; Rapin, that his sentence was suspended, be-

Some of the army, being very desireous to get among them a person of whose fidellity and integrity to the cause they had so good experience, had moov'd it to the generall, my Lord Fairfax, who had commanded to have it enquir'd what way he would chuse to be employ'd, and when he had told them that, in regard to his famely, which he would not willingly be much absent from, he should rather accept the government of some towne then a field employment, four governments were brought to him, to elect which he would have; whereof Plimmouth and Portsmouth, and one more in the west, being at a vast distance from his owne country, Hull in the north, though a lesse beneficiall charge then the other, he made choice of, thinking they had not offer'd him aniething but what was fairely fallen into their dispose. Soone after this the lieftenant-generall, Cromwell, desir'd him to meete him one afternoone att a com-

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cause he should have been tried by an inferior court; and Ludlow, that Ireton moved the house in his favour, omitting Col. Hutchinson either by negligence or design: there is some reason to think it to have been by the latter. Notwithstanding Col. Hutchinson experienced ingratitude from many individuals, the general and collective sense of his justice and benevolence will be seen to have its full operation in his favour in the sequel.

mittee, where, when he came, a mallicious accusation against the governor of Hull was violently prosecuted by a fierce faction in that towne. To this the governor had sent up a very faire and honest defence, yet most of the committee more favouring the adverse faction, were labouring to cast out the governor. Coll. Hutchinson, though he knew him not, was very earnest in his defence, whereupon Cromwell drew him aside, and askt him what he meant to contend so, to keepe in that governor? (it was Overton). The collonell told him, because he saw nothing proov'd against him worthy of being eiected. "But," sayd Cromwell, "we like him not." Then sayd the collonell, "Doe it upon that account, and ble-"mish not a man that is innocent, upon false "accusations, because you like him not." "But," sayd Cromwell, "wee would have "him out, because the government is design'd "for you, and except you put him out you "cannot have the place." At this the collonell was very angrie, and with greate indignation told him, if there was no way to bring him into their army but by casting out others uniustly, he would rather fall naked before his enemies, then so seeke to put himselfe into a posture of defence. Then returning to the

table, he so eagerly undertooke the iniured governor's protection that he foyl'd his enemies, and the governor was confirm'd in his place. This so displeas'd Cromwell that, as before, so much more now, he saw that even his owne interest would not byasse him into any uniust faction, he secretly labour'd to frustrate the attempts of all others who, for the same reason that Cromwell labour'd to keepe him out, labour'd as much to bring him in.

But now had the poyson of ambition so ulcerated Cromwell's heart, that the effects of it became more apparent than before, and while as yett Fairfax stood an empty name, he was moulding the army to his mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, both officers and souldiers, and filling up their roomes with rascally turne-coate cavaliers, and pittifull sottish beasts of his owne alliance, and other such as would swallow all things, and make no question for conscience sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceiv'd by all that were not of very penetrating eies, and those that made the loudest outcries against him lifted up their voyces with such apparent envie and mallice that, in that mist, they rather hid then discover'd his ambitious minings. Among

these Coll. Rich and Commissary Staines and Watson had made a designe even against his life, and the businesse was brought to the examination of the councell of state. Before the hearing of it Coll. Rich came to Coll. Hutchinson and implor'd his assistance with teares, affirming all the crimes of Cromwell, but not daring to iustifie his accusations, although the collonell advis'd him if they were true to stand boldly to it, if false to acknowledge his owne iniquity. The latter course he tooke, and the councell had resolv'd upon the iust punishment of the men, when Cromwell, having only thus in a private councell vindicated himselfe from the mallice, and lay'd open what pittifull sneaking poore knaves they were, how ungratefull to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate, and made it his suite they might be no farther publisht or punisht. This being permitted him, and they thus render'd contemptible to others, they became beasts and slaves to him, who knew how to serve himselfe of them without trusting them. This generosity, for indeed he carried himselfe with the greatest bravery that is imaginable herein, much advanc'd his glory, and clear'd him in the eies of superficiall beholders; but others saw he crept on, and could not stop him, while for-

tune itselfe seem'd to prepare his way* in sundry occasions. All this while he carried to Mr. Hutchinson the most open face, and made the most oblieging professions of friendship imaginable, but the collonell saw through him, and forbore not often to tell him what was suspected of his ambition, what dissimulations of his were remarked, and how dishonorable to the name of God and the profession of religion, and destructive to the most glorious cause, and dangerous to overthrow all our triumphs, these things which were suspected of him would be, if true. He would seem to receive these cautions and admonitions as the greatest demonstrations of integrity and friendship that could be made, and embrace the collonell in his armes, and make serious lying professions to him, and often enquire men's opinions concerning him, which the collonell never forbore to tell him plainly, although he knew he resented it not as he made shew, yett it pleas'd him so to discharge his owne thoughts.†

* By the admirers of Tacitus the development of this intrigue will be highly relished: it aids likewise to confirm the remark that Cromwell's forte lay in watching and adroitly seizing opportunities, not in creating or inventing them. By the former method a man swims with the tide of human affairs, and is assisted by it; by the latter he must stem and encounter it.

† Men who [illegible] superficially will instantly proclaim

The islanders of Jersey wanting a governor, and being acquainted, through the familliarity many of their countriemen had with him, with the abillities and honour of Coll. Hutchinson, they address'd themselves to my Lord Generall Fairfax, and petition'd to have him for their governor, which my lord assented to; and accordingly commanded a commission to be drawne up, which was done; but the collonell made not haste to take it out. But my lord, having order'd the commission, regarded him as governor, and when the modell of the castle was brought to my lord to procure orders and mony for the repaire of the fortifications, he sent it to the collonell, and all other businesse concerning the island.

In the meanetime, the Scotts having declar'd open warre against the parliament of England, it was concluded to send an armie into Scotland, to prevent their intended advance hither. But when they were iust marching out, my Lord Fairfax, perswaded by his wife and her chaplains, threw up his commission at such a

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the simplicity of Col. Hutchinson, and the shrewdness of Cromwell; those who think deeper, will in that simplicity see wisdom, in that shrewdness a more exquisite folly. In life, in death, and in reputation, which of these two was the happier? In modern times, can it be doubted which of the two any man would chuse to resemble, Washington or Bonaparte?

time, when it could not have bene done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. Coll. Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus levell the way to Cromwell's ambitious designes, went to him and labour'd to disswade him; which they had effected, but that the presbiterian ministers wrought with him to doe it. He exprest that he believ'd God lay'd him aside, as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him.

To speake the truth of Cromwell, whereas many say'd he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Coll. Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importun'd him to keepe his commission, least it should discourage the army and the people in that iuncture of time, but could by no means prevaile, allthough he labour'd it allmost all the night with most earnest endeavours.* But this greate man was then as unmoovable by his friends as perti-

* Whitelock tells the same story nearly in the same manner, but thinks Cromwell was not sincere: yet certainly he took all the same steps with those who were unquestionably so. How little soever Cromwell might wish to succeed, there was good policy in attending this conference, as it might in some degree serve to diminish the suspicions entertained of his own ambitious views, and prevent their being urged in argument to Fairfax, which,

nacious in obeying his wife; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his owne name, which every day wore out. When his commission was given up, Cromwell was made generall, and new commissions taken out by all the officers from him. He finding that Coll. Hutchinson's commission for the island was not taken out, and that he addrest not to him, made hast to pre-

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if he had been absent, they most likely would have been. Be this as it may, it may be truly said,

Ex illo fluere et retro sublapsi referri
Res Danaum.

For the true republicans or commonwealth's men,

From thence the tide of fortune left their shore,
And ebb'd much faster than it flow'd before.

For it was only with the co-operation of a man, who to his martial talents, which certainly exceeded all of his time, added that moderation and integrity, which will distinguish Fairfax to the end of time, that the great politicians of those days could have planned and finished such schemes of representation, legislation, and administration, as would have rendered the nation great and happy, either as a commonwealth or mixed government. They had in some respects such opportunities as never can again arise; and if the presbyterians have nothing else to answer for, the perverting the judgment of this excellent man was a fault never to be forgiven; if the ruin of their own cause could expiate it, they were not long before they made that atonement.

vent the islanders, and gave a commission for the government to one of his owne creatures. At this time the Lady Dormer being dead, had left to her grandchild, a Papist, the Lady Anne Somersett, daughter to the Marquesse of Worcester, a mannour in Leicestershire, which the lady, being more desireous of a portion in mony, had a greate mind to sell, and came and offer'd it to Coll. Hutchinson, with whom she had some alliance; but he told her he was not in a purchasing condition, whereupon she earnestly beg'd him, that if he would not buy it himselfe, he would procure of the parliament, that she might have leave to sell it. This he moov'd and was repuls'd, whereupon both the lady, and one that was her priest, who negotiated for her, and other friends, most earnestly sollicited Collonell Hutchinson to buy it; who urging that he had not mony for such a purchase, they offer'd him time of payment, till he could sell his owne land, and assur'd him it should be such a pennieworth, as he should not repent the selling his owne land to buy it. He urg'd to them the trouble and difficulty it would be to obteine it, and that it might so fall that he must lay a weight upon it, more then the thing would be worth to him, he never having yet made any request to the house, and hav-

ing reason to expect recompences for the losse of his estate, as well as others. But my lady still importun'd him, promising a pennieworth in it, that should countervaile the difficulty and the trouble; whereupon, at the last, he contracted with her, upon both her and her brother's desire, the Lord Herbert, who was her next heire, and was then at full age, and gave a release of all claime to it, under his hand and seale; and my lady, being betweene 19 and 20 yeares old, then past a fine, and covenanted att her comming to full age to passe another, and absolutely bargained and sold the land to Coll. Hutchinson, who secured the price of it to the Marquesse of Dorchester, whom the lady and her friends had a greate hope and desire to compasse for a husband, and had thoughts, that when the portion was secur'd in his hands, it would be easily effected. This they afterwards entrusted to Coll. Hutchinson, and desired his assistance to propound the businesse to my lord, as from himselfe, out of mutuall wellwishes to both parties; but my lord would not hearken to it, though the collonell, willing to do her a kindnesse, endeavoured to perswade him, as much as was fitting. In the mean time the collonell could not, by all the friends and interest he had in the house, procure a

composition and leave for my lady to sell her land, because they say'd it would be a precedent to other Papists, and some moov'd, that what service he had done, and what he had lost, might be some other way consider'd, rather then this any way suffer'd. But he vigorously persuing it, and laying all the weight of all his meritts and sufferings upon it, all that he could obteine at last was, to be himselfe admitted, in his owne name, for taking of of the sequestration, after he had bought it, which he did; and they tooke two thousand pounds of him for his composition. By the interest of Sr. Henry Vane and severall others of his friends, powerfull in the house, this too was with much difficulty wrought out, though violently oppos'd by severall others. Of these Maior-generall Harrison was one, and he, when he saw that he could not prevaile, but that in favour particularly to Coll. Hutchinson, it was carried out by his friends; after the rising of the house, meeting the collonell, he embrac'd him, and desir'd him not to think he did it in any personal opposition to him, but in his iudgment, who thought it fitt the spoyle should be taken out of the enemies hands, and no composition admitted from idolaters. Whatever might be particular advantage to him, he envied not, but reioic'd in, only he so dearly

persons, were all passionately the king's. Sr. John Savill, a man of vast estate, was the like: so were Sr. Gervas Eyre, Sr. John Digby, Sr. Matthew Palmer, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Sr. Roger Cowper, Sr. W. Hickman, Sr. Hugh Cartwright, Sr. T. Willoughby, Sr. Thomas Smith, Sr. Thomas Blackwell, Markham, Perkins, Tevery, Pearce, Palme, Wood, Sanderson, Moore, Mellish, Butler, with divers others.—Of the parliament men, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, and Sr. Gervas Clifton, forsooke the parliament, went to the king, and executed his commission of array. Mr. William Stanhope left the parliament, and came home disaffected to them, whose eldest sonne was after slaine in the king's service. Mr. William Pierrepont,[f] second sonne of the Earl of Kingston, was of the parliament, though he

f From this gentleman the late Duke of Kingston and the present Earl Manvers are lineally descended. His wisdom as a politician is sufficiently evinced by this masterly stroke, which decided the fate of the king and the parliament: of his moderation Whitelock speaks repeatedly: of his eloquence there are preserved by Rushworth some specimens, from one of which is extracted this as a sigular trait of candour and delicacy. "It is pleasing to the nature of man that others "should obey his will, and well-framed dispositions of princes "may easily be persuaded their power is unlimited, when "they are also put in mind that they have therefore more "cause to do well, and for doing well are more renowned: "for the most oppressive designs we have suffered under, the "pretences to his majesty have been the good of his subjects: "his is the sin, who is to judge by the laws, who knows the

serv'd not for his owne country, to which notwithstanding he was an ornament, being one of the wisest councellors and excellent speakers in the house, and by him was that bill promoted and carried on which past for the continuation of this parliament. He had a younger brother living at Nottingham, who coldly owned the parliament. Sr. Thomas Hutchinson continued with the parliament, was firme to their cause, but infinitely desirous the difference might rather have bene compos'd by accommodation, then ended by conquest; and therefore did not emproove his interest to engage the country in the quarrell, which, if he could have prevented, he would not have had come to a warre. He was however clearly on the parliament side, and never discourag'd his two sons, who thought this prudentiall tardinesse in their father was the declension of that vigour which they deriv'd from him, and which better became their youth. It is true they were the foremost in poynt of time and in degree, except a piece of a nobleman that was after drawne in, who

" laws are to the contrary, yet puts and confirms such thoughts " in his prince. He that incites another to arbitrary govern- " ment usually doth it for self-ends, and when they are com- " passed, hates him for taking that power he himself persuad- " ed him unto." This will be found an elegant solution of the paradox which appears in the character given by Mrs. Hutchinson of Charles the First, " that so good a man should " make so bad a Prince."

owned the parliament's interest in their country. Mr. Henry Ireton, their cousin, was elder then they, and having had an education in the strictest way of godlinesse, and being a very grave and solid person, a man of good learning, greate understanding, and other abillities, to which was ioyn'd a willing and zealous heart to the cause and his country, he was the chiefe promoter of the parliament's interest in the country; but finding it generally disaffected, all he could doe, when the king approacht it, was to gather a troope of those godly people which the cavilliers drove out, and with them he went into my lord of Essex his armie; which he, being a single person, might the better doe: Mr. Hutchinson was not willing so soone to quitt his house, to which he was so lately come, if he could have bene suffer'd to live quietly in it, but his affections to the parliament being taken notice of, he became an object of envie to the other party.

Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, a little before the standard was sett up, was come to Nottingham, where his house was, to see his children and refresh himselfe, when, hearing of the king's intentions to come to the towne, he, some days before his comming, went over to Owthorpe, his sonn's house, to remaine there till he could fitt himselfe to returne to

the parliament. One day, as Mr. Hutchinson was at dinner, the mayor of Nottingham sent him word that the high sheriffe had broken open the lock of the countrie's ammuniton, which was left in his trust, and was about to take it away. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went in all hast to prevent it, but before he came to the towne it was gone, and some of the king's souldiers were allready come to towne, and were plund'ring all the honest men of their armes. As one of them had taken a muskett, seeing Mr. Hutchinson goe by, he wisht it loaden for his sake, and sayd he hoped the day would shortly come when all such roundheads would be faire markes for them. This name of Roundhead comming so opertunely in, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When puritanisme grew into a faction, the zealotts distinguisht themselves, both men and women, by severall affectations of habitt, lookes, and words, which, had it bene a reall declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had bene most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things, when they were where they would be, shew'd that they either never tooke them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vaine thingsthey purst not practise under persecution. Among

other affected habitts few of the puritanes, what degree soever they were of, wore their haire long enough to cover their eares, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peakes, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Crie after them, begins,

With hayre in Characters and Luggs in Text, &c.

From this custome of wearing their haires, that name of Roundhead became the scornefull terme given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marcht out so, but as if they had bene sent out only till their haire was growne: two or three yeares after any stranger that had scene them, would have enquir'd the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who having naturally a very fine thicksett head of haire, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a greate ornament to him, although the godly of those dayes, when he embrac'd their party, would not allow him to be religious because his hayre was not in their cutt, nor his words in their phraze, nor such little formallities altogether fitted to their humor, who were, many of them, so weake as to esteeme rather for such insignificant circumstances, then for solid wisdome, piety, and courage, which

brought reall ayd and honor to their party: but as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they serv'd, and the truth and righteousneese they defended, so did not their weakenesses, censures, ingratitude, and discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercis'd all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adher'd to iust and honorable principles or practizes, but when they apostatized from these, none cast them of with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that guilt, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb, which only neld the carkase of religion. Instead of digressing, I shall ramble into an inextricable wildernesse, if I pursue this sad remembrance: to returne therefore to his actions at that time,

When he found the pouder gone, and saw the souldiers taking up quarters in the towne, and heard their threates and revilings, he went to his father's house in the towne, where he had not bene longe but an uncivill fellow stept into the house, with a carabine in his hand; Mr. Hutchinson askt what he would have; the man replied, he came to take possession of the house; Mr. Hutchinson told him, he had the possession of it, and would know on what right it was demanded from him; the man sayd, he came to quarter the

generall there; Mr. Hutchinson told him, except his father and mother, and their children, were turn'd out of doores, there was no roome; the quarter-master, upon this growing insolent, Mr. Hutchinson thrust him out of the house, and shut the doores upon him. Immediately my lord of Lindsey came himselfe, in a great chafe, and ask'd who it was that denied him quarter? Mr. Hutchinson told him, he that came to take it up for him deserv'd the usage he had, for his uncivill demeanour, and those who had quarter'd his lordship there had much abus'd him, the house being no wayes fitt to receive a person of his quallity, which, if he pleas'd to take a view of it, he would soone perceive; whereupon my lord, having seene the roomes, was very angry they had made no better provision for him, and would not have layne in the house, but they told him the towne was so full that it was impossible to gett him roome any where elce. Hereupon he told Mr. Hutchinson, if they would only allow him one roome, he would have no more; and when he came upon termes of civillity, Mr. Hutchinson was as civill to him, and my lord only employ'd one roome, staying there with all civillity to those that were in the house. Assoone as my lord was gone, Mr. Hutchinson was inform'd by a friend, that the man he had

turn'd out of doores was the quarter-master generall, who, upon his complaint, had procur'd a warrant to seize his person; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, with his brother, went immediately home to his owne house at Owthorpe. About four or five dayes after a troope of cavilliers, under the command of Sr. Lewis Dives, came to Stanton, near Owthorpe, and searcht Mr. Needham's house, who was a noted puritane in those dayes, and a collonell in the parliament's service, and governor of Leicester: they found not him, for he hid himselfe in the gorse, and so escaped them; his house being lightly plunder'd, they went to Hickling and plunder'd another puritane house there, and were comming to Owthorpe, of which Mr. Hutchinson having notice, went away to Leicestershire; but they, though they had orders to seize Mr. Hutchinson, came not at that time because the night grew on; but some dayes after he was gone another company came and search'd for him, and for arms and plate, of which finding none, they tooke nothing elce.

Two dayes after Mr. Hutchinson was in Leicestershire he sent for his wife, who was then big with child, to come thither to him, where she had not bene a day, but a letter was brought him from Nottingham, to give him notice that there was a warrant sent to

the Sheriffe of Leicestershire to seize his person. Upon this he determined to go the next day into Northamptonshire, but at five of the clock that evening the sound of their trumpetts told him a troope was comming into the towne; he stay'd not to see them, but went out at the other end as they came in, who, by a good providence for his wife, (somewhat aflicted to be so left alone in a strange place) proved to be commanded by her owne brother, Sr. Allen Apsley, who quarter'd in the next house to that where she was, till about two or three dayes before all the king's horse that were thereabouts march'd away, being commanded upon some service to go before the rest.

Mr. Hutchinson, in the meane time, was carried by a servant that waited on him to the house of a substantiall honest yeoman, who was bayliffe to the lord of the townes of Kelmarsh, in Northamptonshire; this man and his wife, being godly, gave Mr. Hutchinson very kind entertainment, and prevailed with him to be acquainted with their master, who had iust then made ready plate and horses to goe in to the king, that had now sett up his standard at Nottingham; but Mr. Hutchinson

s It is customary, in Nottinghamshire, to call every village of any size a town.

diverted him, and persuaded him and another gentleman of quality, to carrie in those aydes, they had provided for the king, to my lord generall Essex, who was then at Northampton, where Mr. Hutchinson visited him, and could gladly at that time have engag'd with him, but that he did not then find a cleare call from the Lord; and therefore, intelligence being brought of the king's remoove, he was now returning to his wife, when unawares he came into a town, where one of Prince Rupert's troopes was, which he narrowly escap'd, and returning to his former honest host, sent a letter to his wife, to acquaint her what hazard he was in, by attempting to come to her, but that as soone as the horse was marcht away, he would be with her. This letter was intercepted, at Prince Rupert's quarters, and opened and sent her. There was with Prince Rupert, at that time, one Captaine Welch, who having us'd to come to Captaine Apsley, and seene Mrs. Hutchinson with him, made a pretence of civillity to visitt her, that day that all the Prince's horse marcht away. They marcht by the doore of the house where she was, and all the household were gone out to see them, and had left her alone in the house, with Mr. George Hutchinson, who was in her chamber, when Capt. Welch came in, and she went downe

into the parlour to receive him. He taking occasion to tell her of her husband's letter, by way of complement, sayd it was a pittie she should have a husband so unworthy of her, as to enter into any faction, which should make him not dare to be seene with her; whereat she being peek'd, and thinking they were all marcht away, told him he was mistaken, she had not a husband that would at any time hide himselfe from him, or that durst not shew his face where any honest man durst appeare; and to confirme you, sayd she, he shall now come to you; with that she call'd downe her brother, who, upon a private hint, own'd the name of husband she gave him, and receiv'd a compliment from Welch, that in any other place he had bene oblig'd to make him a prisoner, but here he was in sanctuary; and so, after some little discourse, went away. When the gentleman of the house and the rest of the famely, that had bene seeing the march, were return'd, and while they sate laughing together, att those that went to see the Prince, telling how some of the neighbouring ladies were gone allong with him, and Mrs. Hutchinson telling how she had abused the captaine, with Mr. Hutchinson insteed of her husband, the captaine came back, bringing another gentleman with him, and told Mr. Hutchinson, that his horse having

lost a shoe, he must be his prisoner, 'till the smith releast him; but they had not sate long, ere a boy came in with two pistolls, and whispered the captaine, who desiring Mr. Hutchinson and the gentleman of the house to walke into the next roome, seiz'd Mr. George, in the name of Mr. John Hutchinson. It booted not for them both to endeavour to undeceive him, by telling him Mr. John was still at Northampton, for he would not, at least would seeme not, to believe them, and carried him away, to be reveng'd of Mrs. Hutchinson, att whom he was vex'd for having deluded him: soe, full of wicked joy, to have found an innocent gentleman, whom he knew the bloodhounds were after, he went and inform'd the prince, and made it of such moment, as if they had taken a much more considerable person. The prince had sent back a troope of dragoones to guard him to them, which troope had besett the house and towne, before Welch came in to them the second time, when, notwithstanding all informations of his error, he carried away Mr. Hutchinson, and putt his sister into affright and distemper with it; which when the woemen about her saw, they rail'd at him for his treachery and basenesse, but to no purpose. Assoone as he overtooke the body of horse, with his prisoner, there was a

shout from one end to the other of the soul-diers. Mr. Hutchinson, being brought to the prince, told him he was the younger brother, and not the person he sent for, which three or four of the Birons, his cousin germanes, acknowledg'd to be soe, yet Welch outswore them all, that it was Mr. John Hutchinson. The Lord Viscount Grandison, a cousin germane of Mrs. Hutchinson's, was then in the king's armie, to whom she immediately dispatcht a messenger, to entreate him to obliege her, by the procurement of her brother's liberty, who, upon her imprudence, had bene brought into that trouble: my lord sent her word, that, for the present, he could not obteine it, but he would endeavour it afterwards, and in the meane time gave her notice that it was not safe for her husband to returne, there being forty men left to lie close in the country, and watch his coming to her. So Mr. George Hutchinson was carried to Derby, and there, with some difficulty, his liberty obtein'd, by the interposition of my Lord Grandison and the Birons. They would have had him to have given them an engagement, that he would not take arms with the parliament; but he refus'd, telling them, he liv'd peaceably at home, and should make no engagement to doe any thing, but what his conscience led him to, that if they pleas'd,

they might deteine him, but it would be no advantage to them, nor losse to the other side; upon which considerations, they were perswaded to lett him goe. Immediately after his release, he went to London to his father, where his elder brother was before him; for assoone as he understood from his wife what his brother suffer'd in his name, he tooke post to London, to procure his release, and there they both stay'd till they receiv'd assurance, that the king's forces were quite drawne out of the country, and then they together return'd to Leicestershire, where Mrs. Hutchinson, within a few dayes after her brother was taken, was brought to bed of her eldest daughter, which by reason of the mother's and the nurse's griefes and frights, in those troublesomes times, was so weake a child that it liv'd not foure yeares, dying afterwards in Nottingham castle. When Mr. Hutchinson came to his wife, he carried her and her children, and his brother, back againe to his house, about the time that the battle was fought at Edge Hill. After this the two brothers, going to Nottingham, mett there most of the godly people, who had bene driven away, by the rudenesse of the king's armie, and plunder'd upon the account of godlinesse, who were now return'd to their famelies, and desireous to live in peace with

them, but having, by experience, found they could not doe so, unless the parliament interest were maintein'd, they were consulting how to rayse some recruites for the Earle of Essex, to assist in which Mr. Hutchinson had provided his plate and horses ready to send in.

About this time Sr. John Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, who had bene sheriffe of the county, at that time, when the illegall tax of ship-money was exacted, and so violent in the prosecution of it, that he sterv'd Sr. John Stanhope's cattle in the pound, and would not suffer any one to relieve them there, because that worthy gentleman stood out against that uniust payment, and who had by many aggravating circumstances, not only concerning his prosecution of Sr. John Stanhope, but others, soe highly misdemean'd himselfe that he lookt for punishment from the parliament, to prevent it, very early putt himselfe into their service, and after the king was gone out of these countries, prevented the cavalier gentry from seizing the towne of Derby, and fortified it, and rays'd a regiment of foote. These were good, stout, fighting men, but the most licentious ungovernable wretches, that belonged to the parliament. He himselfe, no man knowes for what reason he chose that side; for

he had not understanding enough to iudge the equity of the cause, nor pietie or holinesse, being a fowle adulterer all that time he serv'd the parliament, and so uniust, that, without any remorse, he suffer'd his men indifferently to plunder, both honest men and caviliers; so revengefull, that he persued his mallice to Sr. John Stanhope, upon the forementiond account, with such barbarisme after his death, that he, pretending to search for arms and plate, came into the church and defac'd his monument that cost six hundred pounds, breaking off the nose and other parts of it; he digg'd up a garden of flowers, the only delight of his widdow, upon the same pretence; and thus woo'd that widdow, who was by all the world believ'd to be the most prudent and affectionate of womankind, but deluded by his hypocrisies, consented to marry him, and found that was the utmost poynt to which he could carrie his revenge, his future carriage making it apparent he sought her for nothing elce but to destroy the glory of her husband and his house. This man kept the diurnall makers[h] in pension, so that whatever

h Sir John Gell succeeded so far as to get some of this puffing intelligence introduced even into his Memorials by Whitelock; who, p. 186, talks of an expedition where he killed five of the enemy! He likewise gives him the honour of taking Shelford Manor, at least two years before it was really

was done in the neighbouring counties, against the enemy, was attributed to him; and thus he hath indirectly purchas'd himselfe a name in story, which he never merited; who was a very bad man, to summe up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the parliament in those parts. I thought it necessary to insert this little account of him here, because there will be often occasion to mention him, in my following discourse; and because, although there never was any personall acquaintance betweene him and Mr. Hutchinson, yet that naturall antipathie which is betweene good and evil, render'd him a very bad neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson's garrison, and one that, under the name of a friend and assistant, spoyl'd our country, as much as our enemies. He indeed gave his men leave to commit all insolencies, without any restreint,

taken by Colonel Hutchinson. It is very much to be wondered at, that Mrs. Hutchinson no where speaks of his trial and condemnation for misprision of treason, which Whitelock notes in the year 1650, during the time of Mr. Hutchinson's being in the second council of state. He is said to have been convicted on the full evidence of Bernard and Titus. Col. Andrews, who was condemned along with him, gave an attestation on his behalf a little before his death. Whitelock does not say what this treason consisted in, but he was pardoned by the third council, just before Cromwell's usurpation: and was among those members of parliament who opposed him boldly.

whereas Mr. Hutchinson took up armes to defend the country as much as was possible from being a prey to rude souldiers, and did oftentimes preserve it both from his and other rude troopes[i], which stirr'd up in him envie, hate, and ill will against his neighbour. He was not wise in ordering the scouts and spies he kept out, and so had the worst intelligence in the world. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, employ'd ingenuous persons, and was better inform'd of the true state of things, and so, oftentimes communicated those informations, to the chiefe commanders, which convinc'd the falsehood of his; and that was another cause of envie. Some that knew him well, sayd he was not valliant, though his men once held him up, among a stand of pikes, while they obtein'd a glorious victory, when the Earle of Northampton was slaine; certeine it is he was never by his good will in a fight, but either by chance or necessity; and that which made his courage the more question'd was, the care he tooke, and the expence he was att, to get it weekely mentioned in the diurnalls, so that when they had nothing elce to renowne him for, they once put in

[i] To the interposition of such men as Colonel Hutchinson, we must attribute the proportionably small quantity of mischief that was suffered by this nation, in so long and sharp a civil war as this was.

that the troopes of that valiant commander Sr. John Gell tooke a dragoon with a plush doublett. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, that did well for vertue's sake, and not for the vaine glory of it, never would give aniething, to buy the flatteries of those scriblers, and when one of them had once, while he was in towne, made mention of something done at Nottingham, with falsehood, and given Gell the glory of an action wherein he was not concern'd, Mr. Hutchinson rebuk'd him for it, whereupon the man begg'd his pardon, and told him he would write as much for him, the next weeke; but Mr. Hutchinson told him he scorn'd his mercenary pen, only warn'd him not to dare to lie in any of his concernments, whereupon the fellow was awed, and he had no more abuse of that kind.

But to turne out of this digression into another, not altogether impertinent to the story which I would carrie on. In Nottinghamshire, upon the edge of Derbyshire, there dwelt a man, who was of meane birth and low fortunes, yet had kept company with the underling gentry of his neighbourhood: this man had the most factious, ambitious, vaineglorious, envious, and mallitious nature that is imaginable; but he was the greatest dissembler, flatterer, traitor, and hypocrite that ever was, and herein had a kind of wicked po-

licy, knowing himself to be inferiour to all gentlemen, he put on a vizard of Godlinesse and humillity, and courted the common people with all plausibillity and flattery that could be practiz'd; all this while he was addicted to many lusts, especially to that of weomen, but practiz'd them so secretly, that they were not vulgarly taken notice of, though God, to shame him, gave him up to marrie a wench out of one of the alehouses he frequented; but to keepe up a fame of godlinesse, he gave large contributions to puritane preachers, who had the art to stop the people's mouths, from speaking ill of their benefactors. By a thousand arts this fellow became popular, and insinuated himselfe so, into all the gentlemen, that own'd the parliament's party, that till he was discover'd some years after, they believ'd him a most true-hearted, faithfull, vigilant, active man for the godly interest; but he could never climb higher than a presbyterian persecutor, and in the end fell quite of to a declar'd cavalier. In Sr. George Booth's business, thinking he could sway the scales of a country, he rays'd a troope, and brought them into Derby, and publisht a declaration of his owne for the king, then ranne away to Nottingham, and lost all his troope in the route there, and hid himselfe till the king[k] came in, when

[k] By the king is here meant Charles the Second.

he was rewarded for his revolt with an office, which he enioy'd not many months, his wife and he, and some of his children, dying all together in a few dayes of a feaver little lesse than the plague. This man, call'd Charles White, att the beginning of the civill warre got a troope of dragoones, who arm'd and mounted themselves out of devotion to the parliament's cause, and being of his neighbourhood, marcht forth in his conduct, he having procur'd a commission to be their captaine, and they, having stocks and famelies, were not willing to march as farre as the armie, but ioyn'd themselves to those who were allready in arms at Derby.

After the battle at Edge-hill, Sr. John Digby, the high sheriffe of Nottinghamshire, return'd from the king, and had a designe of securing the county against the parliament, whereupon he sent out summons to all the gentlemen resident in the country to meete him at Newark. Mr. Hutchinson was at the house of Mr. Francis Pierrepont, the Earl of Kingston's third sonne, when the letter was deliver'd him, and another of the same to Mr. Pierrepont, and while they were reading them, and considering what might be the meaning of this summons, an honest man, of the sheriffe's neighbourhood, came and gave them notice, that the sheriffe had some

designe in agitation, for he had assembled and arm'd about fourscore of his neighbours, to goe out with them to Newark, and, as they heard, from thence to Southwell, and from thence to Nottingham, through which towne many arm'd men marcht day and night, to their greate terror. Mr. Hutchinson, upon this intimation, went home, and instead of going to meete the sheriffe, sent an excuse, by an intelligent person, well acquainted with all the country, who had orders to find out their designe; which he did so well, that he assur'd Mr. Hutchinson if he and some others had gone in, they would have bene made prisoners: for the sheriffe came into Newark with a troope of 80 men, with whom he was gone to Southwell, and was to goe the next day to Nottingham, to secure those places for the king. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went with his brother and acquainted them at Nottingham with his intelligence, which they had likewise receiv'd from other hands. Although the towne was generally more malignants then well affected, yet they cared not much to have cavalier soldiers quarter with them, and therefore agreed to defend themselves against any force which should come against them, and being call'd hastily together, as the exigence requir'd, about seven hundred listed themselves, and chose Mr. George Hutchinson

for their captaine, who having liv'd among them, was very much lov'd and esteemed by them. The sheriffe hearing this, came not to Nottingham, but those who were now there thus became engaged to prosecute the defence of themselves, the towne, and country, as farre as they could. They were but few, and those not very considerable, and some of them not very hearty; but it pleas'd God here, as in other places, to carry on his worke by weake and unworthy instruments. There were seven aldermen in the towne, and of these only alderman James, then mayor, own'd the parliament. He was a very honest, bold man, but had no more but a burgher's discretion; he was yett very well assisted by his wife, a woman of greate zeal and courage, and more understanding then weomen of her ranke usuall have. All the devout people of the towne were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and famelies, but there was not halfe the halfe of the towne that consisted of these; the ordinary civill sort of people coldly adher'd to the better, but all the debosht, and such as had liv'd upon the bishops persecuting courts, and bene the lacqueys of proiectors and monopolizers, and the like, they were all bitterly malignant; yett God awed them, that they could not at that time hinder his people, whom he overrul'd some of

their greatest enemies to assist, such as were one Chadwick and Plumptre, two who, at the first, put themselves most forward into the businesse. Plumptre was a doctor of phisick, an inhabitant of Nottingham, who had learning, naturall parts, and understanding enough to discerne betweene naturall civill righteousnesse and iniustice, but he was a horrible atheist, and had such an intolerable pride, that he brook'd no superiours, and having some witt, tooke the boldnesse to exercise it, in the abuse of all the gentlemen wherever he came.[1] Sr. Thomas Hutchinson first brought him into creditt and practise in the country, it having pleased God to make him instrumentall in the cure of Mr. George Hutchinson, who had in vaine tried the skill of the best doctors in England, for an epileptick disease, under which he labour'd some yeares. Upon this occasion, Sr. Thomas, and both his sonns, gave him much respect, and this cure gave him reputation, and introduc'd

[1] It is said of him, in Thoroton's history of Notts, "he "was a person eminent in his profession, of great note for "wit and learning, as he had formerly been for poetry, when "he printed a book of epigrams:" a species of composition which the more it pleases the reader, the less it renders the author beloved. This inclination to sport with the feelings of others was not at all likely to recommend him to Mr. Hutchinson, nor make him a good associate in weighty and serious business.

him into practise, in all the gentlemen's houses in the country, which he soone lost againe by his most abusive tongue and other ill carriages, and was even gott out of favour with Sr. Thomas Hutchinson himselfe, for some abusive scoffes given out against his lady: but Mr. Hutchinson and his brother, in pitty to him, and in remembrance of what God had done through him, still owned him, and protected him a little against the bitter zealotts, though it was impossible for his darknesse and their light long to continue mix'd. This man had sence enough to approove the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right, and pride enough to desire to breake the bonds of slavery, whereby the king endeavour'd to chaine up a free people, and upon these scores appearing high for the parliament's interest, he was admitted into the consultations of those who were then putting the country into a posture of defence.[m]

[m] Doubtless many adhered to the parliament's side merely on a civil and political account, and these would naturally unite with the independents, as having no inclination to support the pretensions of the presbyterians. It is said by Clarendon that many deists took part with the independents; and it is not improbable that Dr. Plumptre might have an inclination at least to scepticism, as sarcasm was his talent, and for this by Mrs. Hutchinson, who was a rigorist, he was termed an atheist.

After the deaths of Colonel Hutchinson and Dr. Plumptre

Chadwick was a fellow of a most pragmaticall temper, and, to say truth, had strangely wrought himselfe into a station unfitt for him. He was at first a boy that scrap'd trenchers in the house of one of the poorest justices in the county, but yet such a one as had a greate deale of formallity and understanding of the statute law, from whom this boy pick'd such ends of law, that he became first the iustice's, then a lawyer's clearke; then, I know not how, gott to be a parcell-iudge in Ireland, and came over to his owne country swell'd with the reputation of it, and sett on foote a base, obsolete, arbitrary court there, which the

there began a great friendship between their families, which lasted many generations. Charles, the half brother of Colonel Hutchinson, and his successor in his estate at Owthorpe and in the borough of Nottingham, was guardian of Dr. Plumptre's son, and is represented by Thoroton to have executed his trust with great fidelity.

The Editor has in his possession several pieces, in verse and prose, written by the late Dr. Charles Hutchinson in favour of the last Mr. Plumptre, who represented the town of Nottingham, and in vindication of him against a party headed by Langford Collin, Esq. a lineal descendant of Colonel Hutchinson's master gunner, who will be spoken of hereafter: they are all in a jocose or satirical style; but one of them, a short advertisement, which too well described Mr. Collin, was deemed libellous, and cost Dr. Hutchinson 500*l.* which was well repaid by Mr. Plumptre's obtaining for him a king's living of 350*l.* per ann. At this time Mr. Plumptre and Mr. Hutchinson's families were of the Whig or Hanover party, Mr. Collin of the Tory or Jacobite.

Conqueror of old had given to one Peverel, his bastard, which this man entitling my lord Goring unto, executed the office under him, to the greate abuse of the country. At the beginning of the parliament, they had prosecuted him for it, but that my lord Goring beg'd of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson to spare him, and promis'd to lay it downe for ever: so from the beginning of the parliament he executed not that office, but having an insinuatting witt and tongue, procur'd himselfe to be deputy recorder of Nottingham, my lord of Clare being chiefe. When the king was in towne a little before, this man so insinuated into the court that, comming to kisse the king's hand, the king told him he was a very honest man; yet by flatteries and dissimulations he kept up his credit with the godly, cutting his haire, and taking up a forme of godlinesse, the better to deceive. In some of the corrupt times he had purchased the honor of a barrister, though he had neither law nor learning, but he had a voluble tongue, and was crafty; and it is allmost incredible that one of his meane education and poverty should arrive to such things as he reacht: he was very poore, although he got abundance of mony by a thousand cheates, and other base wayes, wherein he exercis'd all his life, for he was as greate a prodigall in spending as

knave in getting, and among other villanies, which he secretly practis'd, was a libidinous goate, for which his wife, they say, pay'd him with making him a cuckold; yett were there not two persons to be found that pretended more sanctity than he and she, who had a tongue no lesse glavering and false then his. This basenesse he had, that all the iust reproaches in the world could not moove him, but he would fawne upon any man that told him of his villanies to his face, even at the very time. Never was a truer Judas, since Iscariott's time, then he, for he would kisse the man he had in his heart to kill; he naturally delighted in mischiefe and treachery, and was so exquisite a villaine, that he destroy'd those designes he might have thriven by, with over laying them with fresh knaveries. I have bene a little tedious in these descriptions, yet have spoken very little in comparison of what the truth would beare; indeed such assistants as these were enough to disgrace the best cause by their owning of it, but the truth of God, being above the testimony of men, could neither receive credit from the good, nor discredit from the worst men: but they were not all such, who first offer'd themselves to carrie on the Lord's worke with him of whom wee chiefely treate. There was then dwelling at Nottingham a

third sonne of the Earl of Kingston's, a man of good naturall parts, but not of education according to his quallity, who was in the maine well affected to honest men, and to righteous liberty; a man of a very excellent good nature, and full of love to all men; but that his goodnesse receiv'd a little allay by a vaine-glorious pride, which could not well brooke any other should outstrip him in virtue and estimation.[n] Mr. Francis Thornhagh, the eldest sonne of Sr. Francis Thornhagh, was a man of a most upright faithfull heart to God and God's people, and to his countrie's true interest, comprehended in the parliament's cause; a man of greater vallour or more noble daring fought not for them, nor indeed ever drew sword in any cause; he was of a most excellent good nature to all men, and zealous for his friend; he wanted councell and deliberation, and was sometimes too facile to flatterers, but had iudgment enough to discerne his errors when they were represented to him, and worth enough not to persist in an iniurious mistake because he had once entertained it.[o] Mr. Pigott was a very

[n] Mr. Francis Pierrepont, who will frequently be mentioned again in the course of the story, when it will be clearly seen that Mrs. Hutchinson here speaks with candour, or rather favour, of him, though he was her husband's opponent.

[o] Colonel Thornhagh is often mentioned by other writers,

religious, serious, wise gentleman, true-hearted to God and his country, of a generous and liberal nature, and that thought nothing too deare to expose, nor too difficult to undertake, for his friend; one that delighted not in the ruin of his neighbours, but could endure it, rather then the destruction of religion, law, and liberty; one that wanted not courage, yet chose rather to venture himselfe as a single person then a leader in armes, and to serve his country in councell then in action; there was no man in his nature, and his whole deportment, shew'd himselfe more a gentleman than he.[p] There was one Mr. Wid-

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and always with praise in his military capacity, in which only he was known to the public. Mrs. Hutchinson here delineates with a masterly hand a frank, open, unsuspecting, amiable soldier. The family of Colonel Thornhagh continued to flourish in the county of Nottingham so late as the year 1750, at which time one of them represented the county; they are believed to be now extinct in the male line, and their possessions to have centered in a female who was the lady of Francis Ferrand Foljambe, Esq.

[p] Mr. Pigott survived Colonel Hutchinson about five years. He was summoned to parliament by Cromwell, but it is very uncertain whether he condescended to sit or no. Thoroton, in his History of Notts, says of him that "he was a person of "great parts, natural and acquired: he was sheriff of the "county in 1669, and died presently after the summer assizes; "at which time being in mourning for his daughter Mary, "wife of Robert, eldest son of Sir Francis Burdett, of Formark, "he gave his attendants black liveries with silver trimmings,

merpoole, a man of good extraction, but reduc'd to a small fortune, had declin'd all the splendor of an old house, and sunke into the way of the middle men of the country; yet had a perfect honest heart to God, his country, and his friend; he had a good discretion, and though he were elder then all the rest, yet was so humble, to be content to come in the reare of them all, having through the declining of his famely, the slendernesse of his estate, and the parsimony of his nature, lesse interest in the country.[q] To yoake with him, there was a very honest man, who could not be reckon'd among the gentry, though he were call'd by the name of *Mr.* Lomax, he was in the strength and perfection of his age, a stout and an understanding man, plain and blunt, but withall godly, faithfull to his country, and honest to all men. There liv'd

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" which served for his own funeral. His sobriety, ingenuity, " generosity, piety, and other virtues, few of his rank will ever " exceed, if any equal."

It is thought necessary to take more particular notice of what may appertain to Ireton, Colonel Thornhagh, and Mr. Pigott, because they are the three persons who enjoyed the greatest share in the friendship and esteem of Colonel Hutchinson, and made him a due return.

[q] The pedigree of the family of Widmerpoole in Thoroton, shews him to have been of very ancient and good descent; his ancestor represented the town of Nottingham in the reign of Edward the Third.

att Nottingham, a man call'd Mr. Salusbury, who had very good abillities with his pen, upon which he was taken in, to be their secretary, but he proov'd ambitious and froward, and being poore, when he was after made treasurer, fell into some temptation; but he carried at first a faire colour of religion and honesty. These were they, whom Mr. Hutchinson was first mated with, whose characters it was necessary thus farre to hint at, for the better carrying on of his story.

Sr. John Digby having notice that they had prevented him, by getting armes in their hands before, came not to Nottingham, where, now they had taken up the sword, it was not safe to lay it downe againe, and hold a naked throate to their enemie's whetted knives. Wherefore, upon the parliament's commission, for settling the militia, sometime before, there having bene three collonells nominated; viz. Sr. Francis Thornhagh, Sr. Francis Molineux, and Mr. Francis Pierrepont; they propounded to them to raise their regiments. Sr. Francis Molineux altogether declin'd, Sr. Francis Thornhagh appoynted his sonne for his lieftenant collonell, and he began to rayse a regiment of horse, with whom many of the honest men, that first listed themselves with Mr. George Hutchinson, became troopers. Mr. John Hutchinson and his brother were

persuaded to be lieftenant collonell and maior, to Collonell Pierrepont's regiment of foote; and accordingly Mr. George Hutchinson had immediately a very good standing companie of foote, formed out of those townesmen, who first came in-to list under him. Mr. John Hutchinson had a full companie of very honest godly men, who came for love of him and the cause, out of the country. It was six weekes before the collonell would be perswaded to put on a sword, or to list any men, which at length he did, of substantial honest townsmen, and Mr. Poulton, a nephew of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, a stout young gentleman, who had seene some service abroad, was his captaine-lieftenant: there were two companies more rays'd, one under Captaine Lomax, and another under one Captaine Scrimpshire. The first thing these gentlemen did, was to call Captaine White with his dragoones, rays'd in Nottinghamshire, home to the service of his owne country, for Sr. John Gell, at Derby, had receiv'd from Hull a regiment of grey coates, who were at first sent downe from London, for the assistance of that place, when the king attempted it. They alsoe sent to the Earle of Essex, to desire that Captaine Ireton, with a troope of horse, which he had carried out of the country, into his excellencies army, might be commanded back,

for the present service of his country, 'till it were put into a posture of defence, which accordingly he was, and was maior of the horse regiment. They sent alsoe to the parliament, and receiv'd from them a commission, with instructions, whereby they were impower'd to leavie forces and to rayse contributions, for the maintaining them, with all authority of seizing delinquents, sequestring, and the like. The committee appoynted were the parliament men that serv'd for the county, Mr. Francis Pierrepont, Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Francis Thornhagh, Mr. Gervas Pigott, Mr. Henry Ireton, Mr. George Hutchinson, Mr. Joseph Widmerpoole, Mr. Gervas Lomax, Dr. Plumtree, the maior of Nottingham, Mr. James Chadwick, and Mr. Thomas Salusbury. Then did neighbouring counties every where associate, for the mutuall assistance of each other; and the parliament commissionated maior-generalls, to command in chiefe, and give out commissions, to the severall commanders of the regiments. Nottinghamshire was put into the association with Leicestershire and other counties, whereof Lord Grey of Grooby, eldest sonne to the Earle of Stamford, was commander in chiefe, and from him the gentlemen of Nottingham tooke their first commissions.

The high sheriffe and the mallignant gen-

try, finding an opposition they expected not, writt a letter to Mr. Francis Pierrepont, and Mr. John Hutchinson, excusing the sheriffe's force, that he brought with him, and desiring a meeting with them, to consult for the peace of the country, security of their estates, and such like faire pretences; which letter was civilly answer'd them againe, and the treaty kept on foote some fourteen dayes, by letters sign'd by the Lord Chaworth, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Mr. Sutton, Sr. Gervas Eyre, Sr. John Digbie, Sr Roger Cooper, Mr. Palmer, Mr. John Millington: at length a meeting was appoynted, att a village in the country, on the forest side, where Mr. Sutton should have mett Mr. John Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson came to the place, but found not Mr. Sutton there, only the Lord Chaworth came in and call'd for sack, and treated Mr. Hutchinson very kindly; when Mr. Hutchinson, telling my lord he was come according to appoyntment, to conclude the treaty which had bene, betweene Nottingham and Newark, my lord told him, he knew nothing of it; whereupon, Mr. Hutchinson being inform'd that some of my Lord Newcastle's forces were to be in that towne that night, and that Mr. Sutton was gone to meete them, and conduct them into the country, return'd to Nottingham, where he receiv'd a kind of lame excuse

from Mr. Sutton for his disappoynting of him, and for their bringing in strange souldiers in to Newark, which they pretended was to save the towne from the plunder of some Lincolneshire forces: but Mr. Hutchinson, seeing all their treaties were but a snare for him, would no longer amuse himselfe about them; but being certainely inform'd, that Henderson who commanded the souldiers at Newark; if he were not himselfe a papist, had many Irish papists in his troopes, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, sent notice, to all the townes about Nottingham, desiring the well-affected to come in to their assistance, which the ministers pressing them to, upon Christmasse day 1642, many came in to them, and stay'd with them, 'till they had put themselves in some posture of defence.

Assoone as these strange souldiers were come into Newark, they presently began to block up and fortifie that towne, as on the other side, they att Nottingham began workes about that towne, but neither of them being yet strong enough to assault each other, contented themselves to stand upon their owne defence. The Earle of Chesterfield had rays'd some horse for the king, and was in the vale of Belvoir with them, where he had plunder'd some houses neere Mr. Hutchinson's; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson sent a troope of horse

in the night, for they were not strong enough to march in the day, and fetcht away his wife and children to Nottingham.

The preservation of this towne was a speciall service to the parliament, being a considerable passe into the north, which, if the enemie had first possest themselves of, the parliament had bene cut of of all intercourse betweene the north and south,- especially in the winter time, when the river Trent is not fordable, and only to be pass'd over by the bridges of Nottingham and Newark, and up higher at a place call'd Wilden Ferry, where the enemie alsoe had had a garrison.[r] The attempting to preserve this place, in the middst of so many potent enemies, was a work of no small difficulty, and nothing but an invincible courage, and a passionate zeale for the interest of God and his country, could have engag'd Mr. Hutchinson, who did not, through youthfull inconsideration and improvidence, want a foresight of those dangers and travailes he then undertook: he knewe well enough that

[r] In the place of Wilden Ferry has been substituted in modern days a very beautiful bridge, called Cavendish Bridge, with a good and firm road of considerable length at each end to approach it: it is about midway on the high road between Loughborough and Derby. There is near to it a place called Sawley Ferry, little used, and hardly at all practicable in winter.

the towne was more then halfe disaffected to the parliament, that had they bene all otherwise, they were not halfe enough to defend it against any unequall force, that they were farre from the parliament and their armies, and could not expect any timely reliefe or assistance from them, that he himselfe was the forlorne hope of those who were engag'd with him, and had then the best stake among them; that the gentlemen who were on horseback, when they could no longer defend their country, might at least save their lives, by a handsome retreate to the armie; but he must stand victorious, or fall, tying himselfe to an indefensible towne. Although his collonell might seeme to be in the same hazard, yet he was wise enough to content himselfe with the name, and leave Mr. Hutchinson to act all things, the glory of which, if they succeeded, he hoped to assume; if they fail'd, he thought he had a retreate; but Mr. Hutchinson, though he knew all this, yet was he so well perswaded in his conscience, of the cause, and of God's calling him to undertake the defence of it, that he cast by all other considerations, and cheerefully resign'd up his life, and all other particular interests, to God's dispose, though in all humane probability he was more like to loose then to save them.

He and his brother were so suddenly call'd

in to this worke, that they had not time beforehand to consult their father; but they sent to him to buy their armour and usefull swords, which he did, giving them no discouragement, but promoting all their desires to the parliament very effectually.[s]

By reason of the coldnesse of the collonell, the affaires of the warre at Nottingham went more tardily on then elce they would have done; but the gentlemen there, thinking it would be easier to prevent Newark, from being made a fortified garrison, then to take it when it was so, sent over to Lincolne and Derby, to propound the business to them. At length it was, about Candlemas, agreed and appoynted that the forces of Nottingham and Derby should come on their side of the towne, and those of Lincolne on the other. All the disaffected gentry of both those countries, were, at that time, gone into Newark, and one Ballard, a gentleman, who, decay'd in his famely, and owing his education to many of them, had bene bred up in the warres

[s] The reader is desired to bear this in mind, as it tends much to invalidate the credibility of an assertion made by the stepmother of these gentlemen, which will be noticed in its proper place. It is said, in a note by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. that Sir Thomas Hutchinson bought his two sons armour, though he knew not of their accepting commissions against the king. What was the armour for? Was it to serve the king against the parliament?

abroad, was commander in chiefe for the parliament in Lincolneshire. Much ado had the gentlemen of that county to engage him in the designe against Newark; but when he could not divert them, he was resolv'd to cast them away, rather then ruine his old benefactors. He had appoynted the forces of Nottingham and Derby to come to a rendevouz within a mile of Newark upon Saturday, upon which day, all the perswasions the Lincolneshire gentlemen could use, could not prevaile with him to march out, according to appoyntment; which those at Newark had notice of, and had prepar'd an ambuscade to have cutt of all those forces if they had then come to the place; but by providence of an extraordinary stormie season, they marcht not 'till the next day, and so were preserv'd from that danger, which no doubt was treacherously contriv'd. Assoone as they came, who were about a thousand horse, foote, and dragoones, the Lincolneshire commanders inform'd our's of the sloth and untoward carriage of Ballard, and told them how that day, he had play'd his ordinance, at a mile's distance from the towne, and how, when the Newark horse came out to face them upon the Beacon Hill, he would not suffer a man of the Lincolneshire troopes to fall upon them, though the Lincolne horse were many more in number

then they, and in all probabillity might have beaten them. The next day, notwithstanding Mr. Hutchinson went to him, to give him an account of the forces they had brought, and, to receive orders, he could have none, but a carelesse answer to stand at such a side of the towne and fall on as they saw occasiõn. Accordingly they did, and beate the enemie from their workes, with the losse of only four or five men, and entrencht themselves; when the night comming on upon them, they provided straw to have lodg'd in their trenches, all the night. On the other side of the towne, Captaine King of Lincolneshire had taken a streete, cut up a chaine, and placed a [t] drake in a house; whereupon the Newark gentlemen were allmost resolv'd to yield up the towne, and some of them began to flie out of it, but Ballard would not suffer the horse to persue them, only one captaine went out without his leave and tooke fifty horses, and turn'd back Mr. Sutton and many others that were flying out of the towne. At length, when he could no otherway preserve his olde patrones, but by betraying his friends, he order'd Captaine King to retreate; whereupon the whole force of Newark fell upon the forces of Nottingham and Derby, in their

[t] Drake, a piece of cannon so called.

trenches, where they fought very resolutely, 'till a Lincolneshire trooper came and bade them flie for their lives, for elce they were all lost men. At this two hundred Lincolneshire men, whom Ballard with much entreaty had sent to relieve them, first ran away, and then Sr. John Gell's grey coates made their retreate after them; Maior Hutchinson and Capt. White, all this while, kept their trenches, and commanded their Nottingham men not to stirre, who accordingly shott there, till all their pouder was spent. The lieftenant-collonell in vaine importun'd Ballard to send them ammunition and reliefe, but could obteine neither, and so they were forc'd, unwillingly, to retreate, which they did in so good order, the men first, and then their captaines, that they lost not a man in comming of. The towne was sallying upon them, but they discharg'd a drake and beate them back. The next day all the Captaines importun'd Ballard they might fall on again, but he would neither consent nor give any reason of his deniall, so that the Nottingham forces return'd with greate dissatisfaction, though Ballard, to stop their mouths, gave them two pieces of ordnance.

It being necessary to carrie on the maine story, for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheeles that moov'd

within the greate orbe, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdome, while these affaires I relate were transacted at Nottingham. After the retreate from Brainford fight, a treaty was ineffectually carried on betweene the king and parliament from the 31st of January 1642, to the 17th of Aprill 1643, after which my Lord of Essex marched to Reading, where the king had a garrison, and besieg'd it. The king's horse came to relieve it, and had an encounter with my lord's armie, wherein many gentlemen of quallity fell on the king's side, the king himselfe being in a place where he saw them. In a few dayes after Reading was yielded upon composition to the Earle of Essex, whose souldiers having bene promis'd their pay and a gratuity to spare the plunder of the towne, fell into a mutiny upon the failing of the performance, and many of them disbanded. Among those who remain'd there was a greate mortality, occasioned by the infected ayre in the towne of Reading; in so much that my lord was forc'd to returne and quarter his sick and weake armie about Kingston and those townes neere London. And now were all the countryes in England noe longer idle spectators, but severall stages, whereon the tragedie of the civill warre was acted, except the easterne asso-

ciation, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his diligence, prevented the designes of the royall party, which were so successful the first yeare in all other places, that the parliament's condition appear'd so desperate, as many of their members, of both houses, ran away to Oxford to the king, and others sate among them conspiring against them. One plott, conducted by Mr. Waller, and carried on among many disaffected persons, in the citie, was neere taking effect, to the utter subversion of the parliament and people; but that God, by his providence, brought it timely to light, and the authors were condemn'd, and some of them executed; but Waller, for being more a knave then the rest, and peaching his complices, was permitted to buy his life for ten thousand pounds. This summer all the west was reduc'd by the king, the Earle of Stamford yielding up Exeter, and Collonell Fiennes Bristoll. Sir William Waller had lost all his armie, which had been victorious in many encounters. The king was master of all or most part of Wales, and the parliament had no armie left in the field, soe that had he taken the opertunity to have gone immediately to London, that summer, he had accomplisht his designe: but being denied the towne of Gloucester, and taking it in disdaine, that that towne, in the heart of the land,

should make a resistance when the greater cities were yielded to him, he stopp'd his course to take in that place, where he stay'd to turn the tide of his good fortune, as his generall, my Lord of Newcastle, did, at the siege of Hull." My Lord Newcastle was

"The impolicy of this measure is more fully noticed and explained, and the cause of it set down by Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 260. "One or the like councell in "both quarters, north and west, blasted the prosperity in "each place, for the king pitcht upon that fatall resolution, "recommended to him by Lord Culpeper, of besieging Glo- "cester, thinking it a good policy not to leave a strong towne "behind him: but the councell proved fatall, for had the "king at that time resolv'd in himself to have struck at the "proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that "time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to have joined "with him; humanely speaking, he had raised such confusion "among the two houses and the Londoners, that they had "either sent him his own termes, or if they had fought him "most probably he had been victorious. But the king fixes "on Glocester and the Earl of Newcastle on Hull, upon the "advice of his Lieut. General King, who was suspected."

A few pages further he reckons among the king's misfortunes the Earl of Newcastle's too much affecting independency, which may serve to account for some other matters which will occur; but it is here natural to observe, that the king having, by separating himself from his parliament, lost his acknowledged and unquestionable authority, he retained only a very precarious one over the different chiefs of his party: which, on many occasions, turned to the disadvantage of his cause. After all, it is no way certain that his march to London woul have been so effectual and so little opposed, as it is here taken for granted it would have been.

generall of the north, and master of all the strong places, to the very borders of Scotland, and formidable to all the neighbouring counties. Only the Lord Fairfax, with his sonne Sr. Thomas, headed all the religious, honest Englishmen, they could rayse, in those parts, and with a far inferior force, kept him in play, and in severall skirmishes came of [x] conquerors. But as the fortune of the parliament declin'd in other places, so those who had not principles strong enough to hold them fast to a iust, though falling cause, sought early to secure their lives by treasons, which destroy'd them. The Earle of Newcastle's armie was iudg'd to be about eight thousand, horse and foote, my Lord Fairfax had not above two thousand one hundred foote, and seven troopes of horse. After this there was a greate accession of strength to my Lord Newcastle, by the coming, first of the Lord Goring, with many old commanders; then of Generall King, with six thousand arms, from beyond the seas; then of the Queene herselfe, who, in February 1642, landed neere Sunderland, comming out of Holland, with large provi-

[x] In fact, the resistance so long maintained, and frequently with such success, by Lord Fairfax and his sons against so superior a force, has been always thought next to miraculous, and marked out Sir Thomas as the fittest man in the kingdom to command the forces and fix the fortunes of the parliament.

sions of arms, ammunition, and commanders of note, with which she was convoy'd by the Earle of Newcastle, to Yorke, and thither came to her the Earle of Montrose, out of Scotland, with a hundred and twenty horse: then Sr. Hugh Cholmly, governor of Scarborough, revolted from the parliament, whereof he was a member, and came to the queene with three hundred men. Browne Bushell alsoe, who was left in charge with the towne, yielded it up. Then had the queene's practises wrought so upon the two Hothams, that their treason was not all together undiscerned; but my lord Fairfax, having only strong presumptions, and no power to secure them, while they had the strong towne of Hull in their hands, it was all he could doe to be vigilant and silent, till God should give opertunity to secure that great danger. My Lord of Newcastle had given the papists in the north commissions to arme in the king's defence, [y], and now the queene was preparing

y The king pretended never to do this himself; but the Earl of Newcastle did it, as most people would in his place, and avowed it as became him. Sir Philip Warwick recites a witticism of his on the occasion of his going to see him at the siege of Hull, whereh is men being very badly entrenched, he said to Sir Philip, who remarked it, "You hear us often "called the Popish Army, but you see we trust not in our "*good works.*"

to march up, with the assistance she had gotten to the king. Those countries through which she was to passe, could not but be sensible of their danger, especially the gentlemen at Nottingham, who were but a few young men, environ'd with garrisons of the enemie, and scarcely firme among themselves, and hopeless of reliefe from above, where the parliament, strugling for life, had not leizure to bind up a cutt-finger. But God was with them in these difficulties, and gave an unexpected issue.

The Earle of Kingston a few months stood neuter, and would not declare himselfe of either party, and being a man of greate wealth and dependancies, many people hung in suspence, by his example; whereupon the gentlemen of Nottingham often spoke to his sonne, to perswade his father to declare himselfe: but he told them, he knew his father's affections were firme to the parliament, that he had encourag'd him to ioin with them, and promis'd him money to carrie it on, and such like things, which he continually assur'd them, till the collonell's cold behaviour, and some other passages, made them at length, those at least who were firme to the cause, iealous both of the father and the sonne. Hereupon when the danger grew more imminent, and my lord lay out a brave prey to the

enemie, they sent Captaine Lomax, one of the committee, to understand his affections from himselfe, and to presse him to declare for the parliament, in that so needfull season. My lord professing himselfe to him rather desirous of peace, and fully resolv'd not to act on either side, made a serious imprecation on himselfe in these words: "When," said he, "I take armies with the king against the par-"liament, or with the parliament against the "king, let a cannon bullett devide me be-"tweene them;" which God was pleas'd to bring to passe a few months after: for he, going into Gainsborough, and there taking up armes for the king, was surpriz'd by my lord Willoughby, and, after a handsome defence of himselfe, yielded, and was put prisoner into a pinnace, and sent downe the river to Hull, when my lord Newcastle's armie marching allong the shore, shot at the pinnace, and being in danger, the Earle of Kingston went up upon the decks to shew himselfe, and to prevaile with them to forbeare shooting[z], but assoone as he appear'd a cannon bullett flew from the king's armie

[z] This is a most singular story, and no doubt peculiarly gratifying to a fatalist to recite; it is however assuredly true, being mentioned by several historians, with only the difference of his being said to be under, instead of on, the deck; the latter of which is far the most probable.

and devided him in the middle, being then in the parliament's pinnace, who perished according to his owne unhappie imprecation. His declaring himselfe for the king, as it enforced the royall, so it weak'ned the other party.

Sir Richard Biron was come to be governor of Newark. A house of my lord Chaworth's in the vale was fortified, and some horse putt into it, and another house of the Earle of Chesterfield's, both of them within a few miles of Nottingham.[a] Ashby de la Zouch, within eight miles of Nottingham, on the other side, was kept by Mr. Hastings. On the forrest side of the country, the Earle of Newcastle's house had a garrison in it, and another castle of his, within a mile, was garrison'd. Sr. Roger Cooper's house, at Thurgaton, was alsoe kept; so that Nottingham, thus beleagur'd with enemies, seem'd very unlikely to be able either to resist the enemie or support itselfe.[b] Therefore the gentlemen, upon the newes of my lord Newcastle's intended approach that way, sent up Mr. John Hutchinson to acquaint the parliament with their condition, who so negociated their businesse

[a] Wiverton-house and Shelford manor.

[b] In a letter to the king, the queen writes from Newark that "all the force the parliament had in those parts was only one thousand men in Nottingham."

that he procur'd an order for Coll. Cromwell, Coll. Hubbard, my lord Grey, and Sr. John Gell, to unite their forces, and rendezvous at Nottingham, to prevent the queene from ioining with the king, and to guard those parts against the cavaliers. Accordingly, in the Whitsun holidays, 1643, they all came, and the younger Hotham alsoe brought some more rude troopes out of Yorkshire, and ioined himselfe to them, The forces now united at Nottingham were about five or six thousand, my lord Grey being their commander in chiefe. Upon the urgency of the gentlemen at Nottingham, he drew them out against Wiverton-house in the vale, but upon a groundlesse apprehension quitted it, when they might in all probabillity have taken it, and retreated to Nottingham, where, two or three days after, the enemie's horse faced them, but they would not be prevailed with to goe out, though they were not inferior to them. Young Hotham, at that time, carried on a private treaty with the queene, and every day receiv'd and sent trumpetts, of which he would give no account. Then was Nottingham more sadly distrest by their friends then by their enemies; for Hotham's and Gell's men not only lay upon free quarter, as all the rest did, but made such havock and plunder of friend and foe, that 'twas a sad thing for any one that

had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offer'd Hotham to assigne him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a greate deale of wicked witt, and would make sport with the miseries of the poore country, and, having treason in his heart, licens'd his souldiers, which were the scumme of mankind, to all villanies in the country that might make their partie odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vext to see the country wasted, and that little part of it which they could only hope to have contribution from, eaten up by a company of men who, insteed of relieving them, devour'd them, and Hotham's souldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restraine his souldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, "he fought for "liberty, and expected it in all things." Replies follow'd, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himselfe griev'd, to complaine to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concern'd, and this being in the open field, Coll. Cromwell, who had likewise had greate provocations from him, began to shew himselfe affected with the countrie's injuries, and the

idle wast of such a considerable force, through the unexperience of the chiefe commander, and the disobedience and irregularities of the others; so they, at that time, being equally zealous for the publick service, advis'd together to seeke a remedie, and dispatcht away a post to London, who had no greater ioy in the world then such employments as tended to the displacing of greate persons, whether they deserv'd it or not; him they sent away immediately from the place to informe the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumptions they had of his treachery, and the ill management of their forces. This they two did, without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders, some of which were little lesse suspected themselves, and others, as my lord Grey, through credulous good nature, too greate a favourer of Hotham. The messenger was very diligent in his charge, and return'd assoone as it was possible with a committment of Hotham, who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham-castle, and Sr. John Meldrum was sent downe to be commander in chiefe of all those united forces. When they marcht away, a troope of my lord Grey's having the charge of guarding Hotham towards London, suffer'd him to escape, and thereby putt the towne of Hull into a greate hazard;

but that the father and sonne were there unexpectedly surpriz'd, sent up prisoners to London, and after some time executed. Those who knew the opinion Cromwell after had of Mr. Hutchinson, believ'd he registered this businesse in his mind as long as he liv'd, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment, when he deserv'd it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he allways us'd to profess the most hearty affections to him, and the greatest delight in his plainnesse and open-heartednesse that was imaginable. [c]

[c] Those who consider and represent Cromwell as a prodigy, not only of treachery, design, ambition, and artifice, but likewise of sagacity and foreknowledge, will deem this a proof of his having thus early conceived his scheme of aggrandizement; but to those who are better satisfied with the probable than the marvellous it will seem to prove no such thing; they must well know that if he had so soon any great views, they must have been very distant and indistinct; they will find here only the first of a long series of instances, wherein will be seen the quick and clear discernment, the strong and well-poised judgment, the promptitude and firmness of decision, which enabled him to seize and convert to his advantage every opportunity that presented itself, and even the actions, thoughts, and inclinations, of other men; and they will see united to these such a command over his own thoughts and passions as permitted exactly so much, and no more of them than was convenient, to appear: these qualities, though less astonishing than the prescience and almost the power of

Assoone as Sr. John Meldrum came downe to his charge at Nottingham the queen's forces came and faced the towne, whereupon the cannon discharging upon them, the Duke of Vendosme's sonne and some few others were slaine. The parliament horse drew out of Nottingham to receive the queene's, but they came not on, after this execution of the cannon, for in the mean time the queene was passing by, and although the parliament horse pursued them, yet would not they engage, for it was not their businesse; so when they saw they had lost their designe, the horse return'd againe to Nottingham, where the foote had stay'd all the while they were out. When the Earle of Kingston declar'd himselfe for the king he rays'd what forces

creating events, which is attributed to him, would and did equally well answer the purpose of his progression; which he effected in such a manner as to fill with the greatest propriety all the intermediate situations through which he passed, to take as it were a firm footing at each gradation, and to arrive at the pinnacle of power without having once run any considerable risk of an overthrow in his career. Such rational observers will likewise see here, what will in the sequel still more strikingly appear, that if he must be called a traitor, he was not of that paltry treachery which sacrifices a man's party to self; he was steadily bent on procuring the triumph of his own party over their opponents, but too covetous of commanding his party himself. It may be thought there wanted but little, perhaps only the survivance of Ireton, to have made Cromwell intrinsically as well as splendidly great.

he could and went into Gainsborough, a towne in Lincolneshire, scituate upon the river of Trent. There, before he was fortified, my lord Willoughby, of Parham, surpriz'd the towne and all his souldiers, who disputed it as long as they could, but being conquer'd, were forc'd to yield, and the earle himselfe retreated into the strongest house, which he kept till it was all on flame round him, and then giving himselfe up only to my lord Willoughby, he was immediately sent prisoner to Hull, and shott according to his owne imprecation. Immediately part of my lord Newcastle's armie, with all that Newark could make, besieg'd my lord Willoughby in Gainsborough, and Generall Essex sent a command to Sr. John Meldrum to draw all the horse and foote he could out of Nottingham, to relieve my lord, leaving only a garrison in the castle of Nottingham. Sr. John Meldrum call'd the committee of Nottingham together, to consult what was to be done for the settlement of the place, which upon deliberation he had iudg'd not fitt to leave in the hands it was, nor in Coll. Pierrepont's, who, with some apparence, lay under suspition at that time; and therefore conceiving Mr. Hutchinson the most able to manage, and the most responsible for it, both Sr. John and the whole committee order'd him to take the castle into his

charge, which, though there were many causes why he should decline, yet believing that God hereby call'd him to the defence of his country, and would protect him in all the dangers and difficulties he led him into, he accepted it, and the 29 June, 1643, receiv'd an order for that government from Sr. John Meldrum and the whole committee; whereunto Collonell Pierrepont subscrib'd, though with a secret discontent in his heart, not for any ill opinion or ill affection he had to Mr. Hutchinson's person, but for that he resented it as a greate affront that himselfe was past by. It is true that this discontent produc'd some envious and malitious practises, secretly in him, against Mr. Hutchinson, who in the end overcame him with so many good offices, in requital of his bad ones, that he lived and died full of love, and acknowledgment of kindnesse to him.

The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification, but the buildings were very ruinous and unhabitable, neither affording roome to lodge souldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the towne upon such an eminence as commands the chiefe streets of the towne. There had bene enlargements made to this castle after the first building of

it.[d] There was a strong tower, which they call'd the old tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queene Isabell, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surpriz'd with her paramour Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ranne a little rivolett, call'd the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was call'd Mortimer's Well, and the caverne Mortimer's Hole: the ascent to the top is very high, and not without some wonder at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water; in the midway to the top of this tower there is a little piece of the rock, on which a dove-coate had bene built, but the governor tooke downe the roofe of it, and made it a platforme for two or three pieces of ordinance, which commanded some streetes and all the meadowes better then the higher tower; under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle, where there

d Though this description be a good and a just one, it may nevertheless be acceptable to many readers to see a perspective view of the castle and town of Nottingham, which will enable them to judge of the strength and importance of the latter.

had bene several towers and many noble roomes, but the most of them were downe; the yard of that was pretty large, and without the gate there was a very large yard that had bene wall'd, but the walls were all downe, only it was scituated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty heighth above the streetes; and there were the ruins of an old paire of gates, with turrets on each side.

Before the castle, the towne was on one side of a close, which commanded the fields approaching the towne; which close the governor afterwards made a platforme; behind it was a place called the Park, that belong'd to the castle, but then had neither deere nor trees in it, except one, growing under the castle, which was almost a prodigee, for from the root to the top, there was not one straight twig or branch of it; some say'd it was planted by King Richard the Third, and resembled him that sett it. On the other side the castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flat meadowes, bounded by the river of Trent. In the whole rock there were many large caverns, where a greate magazine and many hundred souldiers might nave bene dispos'd, if they had bene cleans'd and prepar'd for it, and might have bene kept secure from any danger of firing the magazines by any

morter-pieces shott against the castle. In one of these places, it is reported, that one David, a Scotch king, was kept in cruell durance, and with his nayles, had scratcht on the wall the story of Christ and his twelve apostles. The castle was not flanker'd, and there were no workes about it, when Mr. Hutchinson undertooke it, but only a little brestworke, before the outmost gate. It was as ill provided, as fortified, there being but ten barrels of pouder, eleven hundred and fifty pounds of butter, and as much cheese, eleven quarter of bread corne, seven beeves, two hundred and fourteen flitches of bacon, five hundred and sixty fishes, and fifteen hogsheads of beere. Assoone as the governor receiv'd his charge, he made proclamation in the towne, that whatsoever honest persons desir'd to secure themselves or their goods in the castle, should have reception there, if they would repaire their quarters, which divers well affected men accepting, it was presently made capable of receiving 400 men commodiously.

In the beginning of July 1643, Sr. John Meldrum, with all the force that quarter'd in Nottingham, marcht forth to the reliefe of Gainsborough, leaving the towne to be guarded by few more then the very townsmen. There had bene large workes made about it, which would have requir'd at least

three thousand men to man them and defend them well, and upon these workes there were about fourteen gunns, which the governor, when the forces were marching away, before they went, drew up to the castle; whereupon the townsmen, especially those that were ill-affected to the parliament, made a greate mutiny, threat'ning they would pull the castle downe, but they would have their ordinance againe upon their workes, and wishing it on fire and not one stone upon another. Hereupon the governor sent Alderman Drury, with 14 more, that were heads of this mutiny, prisoners to Derby, whither Maior Ireton convoy'd them with his troope. The reasons which made the governor carry the ordinance from the towneworkes up into the castle were, 1st, That, the towne being so ill affected, the ordinance remaining in it would but be an invitation to the enemie to come to take them away, and a booty for them if they should. 2dly, He had often visited the guards, and found them expos'd much by their carelessenesse, wherefore he thought it his duty to preserve them, by souldiers more under his command. 3dly, Intelligence was brought to the committee, by a friend, then with the Earle of Newcastle, that Mr. Francis Pierrepont kept intelligence with his mother the Countesse of Kingston, carrying on a de-

signe for betraying of the towne to the earle, and that letters were carried betweene them by a woman, who often came to towne to the collonell, and that two aldermen and a chiefe officer, employ'd about the ordinance, were confederates in the plott, whereupon a suspected cannoneer was secur'd, who, assoone as he obtain'd his liberty, ranne away to Newark. 4thly, When the towne was full of troopes, there had bene severall attempts to poyson and betray them, which if it should againe be attempted, after the most of the forces were gone, might prove effectuall. 5thly, The maine reason was, that if the towne should be surpriz'd or betrey'd (which was then most to be fear'd), the ordinance would be useless; if any considerable force came against the towne, it was impossible then to keepe the workes against them, with so few men, and it would be difficult, at such a time, to drawe of the artillery; if any force they were able to deale with came, it would then be time enough, after the alarum was given, to draw them to the workes, unlesse they were surpriz'd.

It was not only the towne mallignants that murmur'd at the drawing up of the ordinance, but Dr. Plumtre, hearing that the forces were to march away, was raging att it; whereupon, being answer'd that it was for

the more publick interest of the cause, in greate passion he replied, "What is the cause "to me if my goods be lost?" The governor told him, he might prevent that hazard and secure them in the castle. He replied, "It "pittied him to soyle them, and he had rather "the enemie had them, then they should be "spoyl'd in remooving." While this was boyling upon his spiritt, he mett the governor, with some other gentlemen, in the streete, and began to rayle at him for countenancing the godly townsmen, whom he call'd a company of puritanicall prick-ear'd rascalls, and say'd the worst of the malignants, the governor had sent out of the towne, were honester men then the best of those he favour'd, and in spight of his teeth he would have three of the most eminent of them turn'd out of the castle: the governor telling him, he would maintaine them as the most faithfull friends to the cause, Plumtre replied he was as honest to the cause as the governor. "No," say'd the governor (who was not ignorant of his atheism), "that you cannot be, "for you goe not upon the same principles." The doctor told him, it was false, with such uncivill insolence, that the governor struck him, at which he departed quietly home; and after two or three dayes, retir'd with his wife and children to the house of Mr. Parkyns of

Bunney, who was at that time in arms against the parliament, where he stay'd till the parliament forces were routed, and Nottingham castle summon'd and preparing for a siege, and then he sent a ridiculous challenge to the governor, with all the foolish circumstances imaginable, which the governor, at that present, only answer'd with contempt: the pretence he made, was a distresse, wherein the committee had employ'd some of the governor's souldiers, for the leavying of an assessment, which his brother would not pay, and this distresse he call'd the governor's affront to his famely. Though these passages may seeme too impertinent here, yet they having bene grounds and beginnings of iniurious prosecutions, wherewith the governor was after much exercis'd, it was not altogether unnecessary to insert them, since even these little things were linkes in the chaine of providences which measur'd out his life.[e]

All the horse that had bene rays'd in Nottinghamshire, marcht away with Sr. John Meldrum, which were Collonell Thornhagh, Maior Ireton, Captaine White, and Captaine

[e] To some readers the recital of these bickerings and intrigues may seem little interesting, to others highly so; certain it is, that whoever refuses to read them, refuses to acquaint himself with the temper of those times, which they characterize in the most peculiar manner.

Farmer's troopes; who, together with Captaine Lomax and Captaine Schrimpshire's foote companies, ioyning with Collonell Cromwell's men, marcht to Gainsborough, and engag'd those that besieg'd it, and were victorious, killing their generall Sr. Charles Cavendish, with many more commanders and some hundreds of souldiers, and this was opportunely done, while my Lord Newcastle was hastning to come over the water and ioyne with them, who, by a bridge of boates, past all his army over, and came neere Gainsborough iust in a season to behold the rout of all his men. The parliament's forces expected he would have fallen upon them, and drew up in a body and faced him, but he advanced not; so they contented themselves to relieve Gainsborough, and made a very honorable retreate to Lincolne; but Gainsborough not being fortified, nor provided, this reliefe did not much advantage them, for my Lord Newcastle againe besieg'd it, which was render'd to him, after eight dayes, upon honorable conditions for the defendants, though they were not perform'd by the besiegers, for all my Lord Willoughbie's men were disarm'd contrary to articles,[f] and with them, some of the Nottingham souldiers, that had gone into

[f] Particularly noticed by Whitelock.

the towne, to refresh themselves, and so were shut up with them, when my lord lay'd siege to it; the rest had gone to Lincolne. They had behaved themselves very well in the fight, where Captaine White receiv'd a wound in his hand in the forlorne hope; Collonell Thornhagh, who had fought very gallantly, was taken prisoner, and after he was stripp'd of his arms and coate, a maior of the enemie's, whom the collonell had slightly wounded in the fervor of the fight, came and basely wounded the collonell, being disarm'd, so that he left him for dead; but by the good providence of God, that wound which the enemie intended to give him death, gave him liberty; for comming to himself a little after his hurt, he crept to one of his owne tenant's houses, and there had his wounds bound up, and found meanes to gett to Lincolne, from whence all the forces that went from Nottingham disperst into different services. Maior Ireton quite left Collonell Thornhagh's regiment, and began an inseparable league with Collonell Cromwell, whose sonne in law he after was. None of them could returne to Nottingham, by reason of my Lord Newcastle's army, which lay between them and home.

And now it was time for them at Nottingham to expect my Lord Newcastle, which the governor made provision for, with all the

dilligence, that it was possible, under so many difficulties and obstacles, which would to any one elce have been discouragements; but he had so high a resolution, that nothing conquer'd it. The townsmen, through discontent at the drawing out of the forces, whereby their houses, famelies, and estates, were expos'd, began to envie, then to hate the castle, as griev'd that aniething should be preserv'd when all could not; and indeed those who were more concern'd in private interests then in the cause itselfe, had some reason, because the neighbourhood of the castle, when it was too weake to defend them, would endanger them. In this hate and discontent, all the souldiers being townsmen, except some of the governor's owne company, they resolv'd they would not goe into the castle, to behold the ruine of their houses; little considering that when the governor came first into Nottingham to defend them, at their earnest desire, he left a house and a considerable estate, to the mercy of the enemie, rather desiring to advance the cause then to secure his own stake; but their meane and halfe-affected hearts were not capable of such things. The governor perceiving this defection, sett some of the most zealous honest men, to find out how many there were in the towne, who neglecting all private interests

would cheerefully and freely come in and venture all with him, intending, if he could not have found enough to defend the place, that he would have sent to other neighbouring garrisons to have borrow'd some. Upon this inquiry, it was found that many of Collonell Pierrepont's owne company were desireous to come in, but first wisht to know their collonell's resolution, how he would dispose of them; whereupon a hall was call'd, and the danger of the place declar'd to the whole towne, that they might have time to provide for their goods and persons before the enemie came upon them. The collonell being present, his companie asked him what he would advise them to do; to whom his answer was, "You have but three wayes to choose, either "leave the towne and secure yourselves "in some other parliament garrisons, or list "into the castle,[g] or stand on the workes and "have your throates cut." Two or three days after this he went to his mother's, and carried his children with part of his goods, and sent his wife to Sr. Gervas Clifton's house.

[g] The particular account which has before been spoken of, has in this place a little difference of expression, which yet perhaps signifies much. There Col. Pierrepont says, "List "into the castle with *John*, for soe in a iesting way he us'd to "call Coll. Hutchinson," alluding no doubt to his frank and downright mode of speaking and acting.

Notwithstanding this publick resolution in the Hall to his companie, he told them, and many others in private, that he preferr'd the interest of the towne above that of his life, and would expose his life for the good of it, and stand on the workes of the towne as long as they could be defended, and when they could no longer be kept, would retire to some other parliament garrison. Others he told he scorn'd his colours should serve in the castle; that if his companie went up thither, he would gett him a new one, which should follow him wherever he went, and many more such things in private; but openly, both to the governor and others, approv'd and encourag'd their going into the castle. According to his advice, the townsmen, as they were diversely affected, disposed of themselves, the malignants all lay'd downe their arms and stay'd in the towne, some honest and well affected, but not bold enough to stand the hazard, went to other parliament garrisons and serv'd there; others secured themselves, their goods and famelies, in the country; some listed into the castle; one Alderman Nix, captaine of two hundred, gave up his commission, his men all disbanded, except about forty, who came into the castle and fill'd up the broken companies there. At length, out of all the four

companies and the whole towne, about 300 men listed into the castle.

The governor had procured 40 barrells of pouder, and two thousand weight of match from London, and had increased the store of provision, as much as the present poverty of their condition would permitt him. Then the committee of Nottingham, so many of them as were remaining in the towne, and all the ministers of the parliament's party there, came up to the castle, and, with the officers of the garrison, eate at the governor's, to very greate charge, considering that he was so farre from receiving pay at that time, that all the mony he could procure of his owne creditt, or take up with others, he was forc'd to dispend, for the several necessities of the souldiers and garrison; yett were the souldiers then, and a long time after, kept together as long as they could live, without any pay, and after pay'd part in victualls, and the rest run on in arrears.[h]

[h] In all the histories of those times we read so much of the soldiers' complaints for want of pay, and so much of auditing their officers' accounts, as, being no way reconcileable to modern practice, makes one suppose the officers fraudulent, the souldiers mutinous; but this opinion will be corrected by observing what is here recited. Hence we shall likewise conceive a high idea of the virtue of those men, who started forth out of every rank of life to devote themselves to the service of God and their country, and preserved through such privations

The townsmen who came into the castle, dispos'd their famelies into severall villages in the country, and at length a trumpett was sent, for a safe conduct, for a gentleman, from my Lord Newcastle, and having it, Maior Cartwright came from him with a summons for the delivery of the towne and castle, to which the committee for the towne, and the governor, for the castle, return'd a civill defiance in writing, about the tenth day of August. Cartwright, having receiv'd it, and being treated with wine by the governor and the rest of the officers, grew bold in the exercise of an abusive witt he had, and told both Mr. Hutchinsons they were sprightly young men, but when my lord should come with his armie, he should find them in other termes, beseeching my lord to spare them, as misled young men, and suffer them to march away with a cudgell, and "then," say'd he, "shall "I stand behind my lord's chaire and laugh." At which the governor being angrie, told him he was much mistaken, for he scorn'd ever to yield on any terms, to a papisticall armie led by an atheistical generall.[1] Mr. George

and difficulties; and consider their interference in the settling the constitution of their country, for which they had fought, in a far different light from the tumult and mutiny of mercenary soldiers.

[1] Charles the First, when accused of retaining papists, de-

Hutchinson told him, "If my lord would have "that poore castle, he must wade to it in "blood." Which words they say he told his generall. After these summons were receiv'd, the governor drew all his souldiers into the castle, and committed the guard of the towne to the aldermen, who were to sett guards of fifty in a night, according to their wards. Then calling together his souldiers, he once againe represented to them their condition, and told them, that being religious and honest men, he could be assured no extremity would make them faile, in what they found themselves strong enough to undertake, and therefore he should not feare to lett them freely understand their danger, which yet they had power to shunne, and therefore whatever miserie might be the issue of their undertaking, they could not iustly impute it to him, it being their owne election: for after this summons they must expect the enemie, and to be reduc'd to the utmost extremity by them, that

nied having any in his army, and tried to have it believed that those which the Earl of Newcastle had enlisted were unknown to him, although there is ample proof that it was done by his order: that nobleman acted in a much more ingenuous manner, and, as is before related in a quotation from Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, turned the imputation into a jest; probably his indifference about the religion of his souldiers caused the epithet of, *Atheistical*, to be applied to him, certainly without sufficient reason.

thought could reach: it must not moove them to see their houses flaming, and, if need were, themselves firing of them, for the publique advantage, to see the peices of their fame-lies, cruelly abus'd and consum'd before them; they must resolve upon hard dutie, fierce assaults, poore and sparing diet, perhaps famine, and want of all comfortable accom-modations; nor was there very apparent hope of reliefe at last, but more then common hazard of loosing their lives, either in de-fence of their fort, or with the place; which, for want of good fortifications, and through disadvantage of a neighbouring mount and building, was not, in humane probability, tenable against such an armie as threaten'd it: all which, for his owne part, he was re-solv'd on, and if any of them found his courage failing, he only desir'd they would provide for their safety, in time, elcewere, and not preiudice him and the publick in-terest so highly, as they would doe, to take upon them the defence of the castle, except they could be content to lay downe their lives and all their interests in it. The souldiers were none of them terrified at the dangers which threat'ned their undertaking; but at the latter end of August, tooke, upon the solemne fast day, the nationall covenant, and besides it, a particular, mutuall covenant, be-

tweene them and the governor, to be faithfull to each other, and to hold out the place to the death, without entertaining any parlee, or accepting any termes from the enemie: and this the governor was forc'd to doe, to confirme them, for he had his exercise, not only by the ungodly and ill-affected, but even the godly themselves, who thought it scarce possible for any one to continue a gentleman, and firme to a godly interest, and therefore repay'd all his vigilancy and labours for them with a very uniust iealousie.[k] The governor of Newark was his cousin germane, to whom he was forc'd, against his nature, to be more uncivill then to any other that were governors in that place. Whether it were that the dissention of brethren is allwayes most spitefully persued, or that Sr. Richard Biron, as 'twas reported, suffer'd under the same suspitions on his side, it is true they were to each other the most uncivill enemies that can be imagined. After this summons, my Lord Newcastle came not, according to their bra-

k It passes for a saying of Charles the Second, that the presbyterian might be a very good religion, but it was not the religion of a gentleman; these good folks seem to have been of the same mind. The French have taken care not to fall short in imitating this malicious prejudice, but stamped with the hated name of Aristocrat every person at all elevated above the vulgar, though ever so generous a friend of liberty.

vadoes, but diverted his armie to Hull, to besiege my Lord Fairfax there; they of Newark having gotten him to send this summons, upon confidence, knowing the condition of the place, that it would have bene yielded to a peice of paper. The governor immediately sett upon the fortification of his castle, made a worke behinde it, another to the Line side, turn'd the Dove Coate into a platforme, and made a court of guard in Mortimer's Hole.

At this time Sr. Thomas Hutchinson died at London,[1] and gave all his personall estate, and all that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and her children; att which his two sonns had not the least repining thought, but out of tender love, were very much aflicted for his loss, and procured a passe from Newark for Mr George Hutchinson, to goe to London, to visit his mother and fetch mournings, which accordingly he did; and upon a letter the committee sent up by him, brought downe an order of parliament to allow a table to the governor and committee, whom Mr. Hutchinson had till that time entertain'd at his owne cost, with all the

[1] August 18, 1643, as appeared by his tombstone, under the communion table in St. Paul's Covent Garden, London, and that he was 55 when he died. J. H.

A marginal note written by Julius Hutchinson, grand-father of the editor.

officers of the garrison and the ministers, which were no small charge to him, who had a noble heart, and could not basely evade the expence, which that place necessarily drew upon him, not only by the constant entertainement of the committee, officers, and ministers, and all parliament officers, that came and went through the garrison, but by the relieving of the poore souldiers, who had such short pay, that they were, for the most part, thirty weekes and more behind; and when they marcht out at any time, the governor would not suffer them to take a cup of drink unpay'd for, in the country, but allwayes, wherever they tooke any refreshment in their marches, pay'd it himselfe. He besides gave them much from his owne house, especially when any of them were sick or wounded, and lent monies to those that were most necessitous. All this run him into a greate private debt, besides many thousands of pounds, which he engaged himselfe in with other gentlemen, taken up for the supplie of the garrison and carrying on of the publick service. Allthough the allowance of his table were much envied by those meane fellows, that never knew what the expence of a table was, and although it was to him some ease, yet did it not defray the third part of his expence in the service, being but ten pounds a

weeke allow'd by the state, and his expences all that time, only in the publick service, and not at all in any particular of his owne famely, being, as it was kept upon account, above fifteen hundred pounds a yeare. Assoone as his father was dead, and rents became due to him, the enemies, in the middst of whom his estate lay, fetcht in his tenants and imprison'd them, and tooke his rents; his estate was begg'd and promis'd by the king; those who liv'd not upon the place, flung up his grounds, and they lay unoccupied, while the enemy prevail'd in the country. He was not so cruell as others were to their tenants, who made them pay over againe those rents which the enemie forc'd them to redeeme themselves out of prison withall, but lost the most part of his rents, all the while the country was under the adverse power; he had some small stock of his owne plunder'd, and his house, by the perpetuall haunting of the enemie, defac'd, and for want of inhabitation render'd allmost uninhabitable. For these things he had some subscriptions,[m] but never

[m] By subscriptions is here meant acknowledgments or certificates given by the committees, which parliament professed to make good, but many times did not. But Col. Hutchinson's disinterestedness and devotion to the cause did not suffice to exempt him from calumny, for in Walker's History of Independency, p. 166, et seq. a list is given of members of parlia-

receiv'd any pennie recompense, and his arrears of pay, which he receiv'd after all the warre was done, did not halfe pay the debts those services contracted. But when he undertooke this engagement, it was for the defence of his countrie's and God's cause, and he offer'd himselfe and all he had, a willing sacrifice in the service, and rather prays'd God for what was sav'd, then repin'd at what was spent, it being above his expectation, that deliverance which God gave him out of his enemies' hands. He might have made many advantages by the spoyle of his enemies, which was often brought in, and by other encroachments upon the country, which allmost all the governors, on both sides, exacted every where elce, but his heart abhorr'd it: all prize the souldiers had, and he never

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ment who were unduly returned, who held commands contrary to the self-denying ordinance, or had monies or offices given them. And Col. Hutchinson is accused of all *three;* how absurdly and unjustly every one must perceive. He was regularly elected to parliament in place of his father deceased; he had a regiment which he raised, and in a great degree subsisted himself; he had a government, which, at the time of his undertaking it, was a charge others feared to accept, and which for a long time was a loss and a detriment to him, and at the end of all he fell far short of receiving as much as he had expended. In the same place Mr. William Pierrepont is most invidiously accused of getting 40,000*l.* — *but how? it was the personal estate of his own father.*

shar'd it; all mallignants' goods, the committee dispos'd of, and it ever griev'd his heart, to see the spoyle of his neighbours, how iustly soever they deserv'd it; but he chose all losse, rather then to make up himselfe,[b] by violence and rapine. If in a iudiciall way, he were forc'd att any time, in discharge of his trust, to signe any harsh orders, against any of the gentlemen of the country, it was with griefe that they should deserve that severity, but this testimony is a truth of him, that in his whole actings in this cause, he never prosecuted any private lust, either of revenge, ambition, avarice, or vaine glory, under a public vizard, but was most truly publick spirited. Conscience to God, and truth and righteousnesse, according to the best information he could gett, engag'd him in that party he tooke; that which engag'd him, carried him through all along, though he encount'red with no less difficulties and contradictions, from those of his owne party that were not of the same spiritt he was, then from his enemies.

The death of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson made every way a greate reverse in the affairs of his eldest sonne, who had before bene look'd upon as his father's heire, and reverenc'd as

[b] Make himself up, make himself whole, reimburse himself.

much, or rather more, upon his father's score, then his owne, so that no man durst attempt to iniure him, whom they look'd upon under such a powerfull protection. Sr. Thomas and his fathers before him had ever deserv'd very well of their country, and, as lovers of their country, their neighbours had an implicite faith in all their dictates and actions, insomuch that Sr. Thomas Hutchinson's single authority sway'd with many more then all the greater names of the country. But he at his death having devided, all things consider'd, his estate betweene the children of his two wives, though it be true the latter deserv'd more then they had, yett it is as true the first deserv'd not to be so much lessen'd as they were, and Mr. Hutchinson having bene knowne to be the most pious and obedient sonne, from his childhood, that ever any father was blest in, when it came to be knowne that his father had given away all that was in his power to give from him, those that had a greate reverence and esteeme for Sr. Thomas would not believe him so defective in iustice to doe this without some secret cause, and therefore it was given out that he was displeas'd with his son's engagement, and for that cause dispos'd away so much of his estate from them, but that was not soe. Indeed at the time of his death

the parliament's interest was so low that he might well looke upon them as lost persons, and so what he gave away to the unengaged infant he might well looke upon as all that could be preserv'd. Mr. Hutchinson had only an allowance from his father, while he lived, which was duely pay'd him, but assoone as he died all his estate was seiz'd by the enemie; who had so much desire not to iniure publickly a person so popular, that they disturb'd not Sr. Thomas his tenants while he lived, though he continued with the parliament, and faithfull to their interest, because he was moderate, and one that applied all his endeavours to peace, which he did not out of pollicie, but out of conscience to his country, and a wise foresight of the sad consequences of a conquest by either side; for he hath often exprest, that accommodation was farre more desireable then warr, and he dreaded that the spiritts of those men would become most insolent after conquest who were so violently bent to prosecute a warre; that some of them, whom we have since known to be vile apostates, then profest they abhorr'd accommodation. This report of Sr. Thomas his dislike of his son's engagement was rays'd and disperst by those who themselves were ill-affected to it, but however it abated all the respects men had for him, upon any account

but his owne. Those who had entertain'd a secret envie of him, now fear'd not to manifest it, and began to worke secret mines, to blow him up on all sides; but God was with him, and disappointed all his enemies, and made his vertues more illustrious by the oppositions they encounter'd with, and the removall of all those props of wealth and power which are necessary to hold up weaker fabricks. P

P Here is in the original a marginal note in the following words: "The division of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's estate. Sir "Thomas Hutchinson being mightily belov'd in the country, "and a moderate man, using all his endeavours for peace, his "estate was never plunder'd in his lifetime; and tho' it is here "falsely insinuated that he approved of his son's conduct in "taking armes against the king, 'tis most true that he was "extremely afflicted at it, being altogether for peace, and "condemned such rash councells as armes on both sides; and "the miserys he saw his king and country involved in were "certainly the occasion of his death: and though Sir T. "Hutchinson sat longer in the house than many honest men, "it was only in hopes by his moderate councells to effect a "happy peace between his king and country. All this I have "heard attested by his lady and relict, my grandmother. "Teste J. Hutchinson." This is that testimony of Lady Katharine Hutchinson which was spoken of in the preface, and which, in attempting to impeach the veracity of the author in a single point, contributes largely to corroborate it in all. In the very instance before us there seems much more reason for the opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson than of Lady Katharine: Sir Thomas Hutchinson had before been imprisoned for his opposition to the court; was in this parliament

Soone after the death of his father, one Mr. Ayscough, a gentleman of the country, allied to Sir Richard, since Lord Biron, then governor of Newark, came to the governor of Nottingham, and told him that Sir Richard Biron, out of that tender natural affection which he ever had for him, and still preserved, desir'd him now to consider his wife and children, and the losse of his whole estate, which was so inevitable, if he persisted in the engagement he was in, that some had already bene suing to the Earle of Newcastle for it; but if he would returne to his obedience to the king, he might not only preserve his estate, but have what reward he pleas'd to propound for so doing: to which the governor

on all committees for the reform of religion; sat with the parliament after the war was deeply engaged; sent his sons arms, and promoted their desires to the parliament: it is incredible that he should have any great objection to the part they took, other than the general one of regretting that arms were taken on either side. The most probable thing is that this lady, being of the same party and opinion as her brother and family, and jealous of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's children by his former wife, influenced him to their disadvantage in the making of his will, and set up these reasons to countenance it after his death. The other estates of Sir Thomas Hutchinson in Notts were fully equal, if not superior, in value to that of Owthorpe. This being the only instance wherein the truth of the narrative is called in question, and this certainly invidiously, if not unjustly, we may safely say we have the testimony of an adversary in our favour to all the rest.

telling him, this was a thing he ought to scorne, Mr. Ayscough told him that Sir Richard had, only out of love and tender compassion to him, given him this employment, with many protestations how much Sr. Richard desir'd to employ all his interest to save him, if it were possible, and therefore beg'd of him that if he would still persist in this party, that he would yet quitt himselfe of this garrison, and goe into my lord of Essex his armie, for there, he said, Sr. Richard would find pretence to save his rents for him for the present and his estate for the future; for, say'd he, he can plead, "you were an incon-
"siderate young man, rashly engag'd, and
"dares assure himselfe to beg your pardon;
"but to keep a castle against your king is a
"rebellion of so high a nature, that there
"will be no colour left to aske favour for
"you." The governor told him he should deliver the same propositions, and receive his answer, before some witnesses, whereupon he carried the gentlemen to two of the committee, before whom he repeated his message, and the governor bade him returne Sr. Richard answer, "that except he found his owne
"heart prone to such treachery, he might
"consider there was, if nothing elce, so much
"of a Biron's blood in him, that he should
"very much scorne to betrey or quitt a trust

" he had undertaken; but the grounds he " went on were such, that he very much de- " spised such a thought as to sell his faith for " base rewards or feares, and therefore could " not consider the losse of his estate, which " his wife was as willing to part with as him- " selfe, in this cause, wherein he was resolv'd " to persist, in the same place, in which it " had pleased God to call him [q] to the defence " of it."

About this time a woman was taken, whereof the committee had before bene inform'd, that she carried intelligence betweene Coll. Pierrepont and his mother, the countesse of Kingston. The woman was now going through Nottingham, with letters from the old countesse to her daughter-in-law, the collonell's wife, who was then at Clifton, Sr. Gervas Clifton's house. In this pacquet there was a letter drawne, which the countesse adviz'd her daughter to signe, to be sent to Coll. Stanton, one of the king's collonells, to entreate back from him some goods of her hus-

[q] Notice is taken by Whitelock of several attempts to prevail on Colonel Hutchinson to betray his trust, and of his steady adherence to it: there will be seen other instances more remarkable than this, but here are two things extremely well worth notice; this elegant and forcible apostrophe to Sir Richard Byron; and the patriotic and disinterested devotion of Mrs. Hutchinson to the cause, at least a rare example in her sex.

band's which he had plunder'd; wherein there were these expressions: "that though her "husband was unfortunately engag'd in the "unhappie rebellion, she hoped ere long he "would approve himselfe a loyall subject to "his majesty." The committee having read these letters, seal'd them up againe, and enclos'd them in another to the collonell, then at Derby, telling him that having intercepted such letters, and not knowing whether his wife might follow her mother's advice, which if he should, would prove very dishonourable to him, they had chosen rather to send the letters to him then to her. The collonell was vext that they had open'd them, but for the present tooke no notice of it. All the horse having bene drawne out of Nottingham to the reliefe of Gainsborough, and the Newarkers, knowing that the garrison was utterly destitute, plunder'd all the country, even to the walls of Nottingham; upon which some godly men offer'd themselves to bring in their horses, and forme a troope for the defence of the country, and one Mr. Palmer, a minister, had a commission to be their captaine.[r] This man had a bold, ready, earnest way of preaching, and liv'd holily and regularly, as to outward conversation, whereby he gott a greate reput-

[r] This, if not unique, is at least a singular trait.

ation among the godly, and this reputation swell'd his spiritt, which was very vaine-glorious, covetous, contentious, and ambitious: he had insinuated himselfe so as to make these godly men desire him for their captaine, which he had more vehement longing after then they, yett would have it believ'd that it was rather prest upon him, then he prest into it; and therefore being at that time in the castle with his famely, and feeding at the governor's table, who gave him roome in his owne lodgings, and all immaginable respect, he came to the governor and his wife, telling them that these honest people prest him very much to be their captaine, and desiring their friendly and christian advice, whether he should accept or refuse it. They freely told him that having enter'd into a charge of another kind, they thought it not fitt to engage in this, and that he might as much advance the publique service and satisfie the men in marching with them in the nature of a chaplaine, as in that of a captaine. He that ask'd not councell, to take any contrary to his first resolve, went away confus'd, when he found he was not adviz'd as he would have bene, and sayd he would endeavour to persuade them to be content; and after sayd, they would not be otherwise satisfied, and so he was forct to accept the commission. The governor having only declar'd his owne iudgement when he

was askt, as a Christian ought to doe, according to his conscience, left the captaine to act according to his owne, and censur'd him not, but entertain'd him with the same freedom and kindnesse he had done before; but the man, being guilty[s] of the avarice and ambition of his owne heart, never after that lookt upon the governor with a cleare eie, but sought to blow up all factions against him, whenever he found oppertunity, and in the meane time dissembled it as well as he could. And now before his troope was well raised, Coll. Thornhagh being recover'd, brought back his troope from Lincolne, and both the troopes quarter'd in the towne, which being a baite to invite the enemie, the governor gave charge to all that belong'd to the castle, being about three hundred men, that they should not upon any pretence whatever be out of their quarters; but they having, many of them, wives and better accommodations in the towne, by stealth disobey'd his commands, and seldom left any more in the castle then what were upon the guard.

The townsmen were every night sett upon the guard of the towne, according to the wards of the aldermen, but the most of them being disaffected, the governor, fearing treachery, had determin'd to quarter the horse

[s] Guilty; Latin, *sibi conscius*, conscious of.

in those lanes which were next to the castle, and to block up the lanes for the better securing them. Just the night before these lanes should have bene blockt up, Alderman Toplady, a greate mallignant, having the watch, the enemie was, by treachery, lett into the towne, and no alarum given to the castle; though there were two musketts at the gate where they enter'd both of them were surrender'd, without one shott to give notice, and all the horse, and about two parts of the castle souldiers, betrey'd, surpriz'd, and seiz'd on in their beds, but there were not above fourscore of the castle foote taken; the rest hid themselves, and privately stole away, some into the country, some by night came up to the castle and gott in, in disguizes, by the river side; but the cavalliers were possest of the towne, and no notice at all given to the castle. When, at the beating of reveille, some of the souldiers, that had bene on the watch all night, were going downe into the towne to refresh themselves, they were no sooner out of the castle gates but some of the enemie's musketeers discharg'd upon them, and they hasting back, gott in with such care that the enemy was prevented of their designe of falling in with them. They brought a strong alarum into the castle, where the governor coming forth,

was exceedingly vext to find that his men were, so many of them, contrary to his command, wanting in their quarters; but it was no time to be angrie, but to applie himselfe to doe what was possible to preserve the place; wherefore he immediately dispatcht messengers, by a private sally-port, to Leicester and Derby, to desire their assistance, either to come and helpe beate the enemie out of the towne, or to lend him some foote to helpe keepe the castle, in which there was but fourscore men, and never a lieftenant nor any head officer but his brother, nor so much as a surgeon among them. Assoone as the governor had dispatcht his messengers he went up to the towers, and from thence play'd his ordinance into the towne, which seldome fail'd of execution upon the enemie; but there was an old church, call'd St. Nicholas Church, whose steeple so commanded the platforme that the men could not play the ordinance without woolpacks before them. From this church the bullets play'd so thick into the outward castle yard, that they could not passe from one gate to the other, nor relieve the guards, but with very greate hazard; and one weake old man was shot the first day, who, for want of a surgeon, bled to death before they could carry him up to the governor's wife, who at that time supplied that want as

well as she could; but at night the governor and his men dug a trench betweene the two gates, through which they afterwards better secur'd their passage. In the meane time the cavalliers that came from Newark, being about six hundred, fell to ransack and plunder all the honest men's houses in the towne, and the cavalliers of the towne, who had call'd them in, helpt them in this worke. Their prisoners they at first put into the sheep pens in the market place[t], where an honest townsman seeing four or five commanders goe into his owne house, procur'd a cunning boy that came by him, while the enemie regarded more their plunder then the prisoners, to runne privately up to the castle and give them notice, who sent a cannon bullet presently into the house. The cavalliers call'd in all the country assoone as they were in the towne, and made a fort at the Trent bridges, and thither they carried downe all their considerable plunder and prisoners. The next day after Sr. Richard Biron had surpriz'd the towne, Mr. Hastings, since made lord of Loughborough, then governor of Ashby de la Zouch, came with a body of about four hundred men, but being displeased that the

[t] It appears by Deering's account of Nottingham that these once occupied a considerable portion of the market place.

plunder was begun before he came, he returned againe and left the Newark gentlemen to themselves, who, as they made a fort at the bridges, threw downe the half moones and bulwarkes that had bene rais'd about the towne. They stayd five dayes, but very unquietly, for the cannon and muskets from the castle fail'd not of execution dayly upon many of them, and they durst not in all that time goe to bed. The third day Maior Cartwright sent a letter, desiring the governor or his brother to come and meete him in St. Nicholas Church, and promis'd them safe passage and returne; but the governor read the letter to his souldiers, and commanded a red flag to be sett upon the tower, to bid them defiance, and shott three pieces of cannon at the steeple, in answer to his desired parlee.

Five dayes the enemie stay'd in the towne, and all that time the governor and his souldiers, none of them were off from the guard, but if they slept, which they never did in the night, it was by them that watcht. At length on Saturday, September the twenty-third, in the afternoone, the governor saw a greate many goods and persons going over the Line bridge, and not knowing what it meant, sent some cannon bullets after them, when on the other side of the towne he discern'd a body of

men, whom he knew not at first, whether friends or foes, but having at that time about eightscore men in the castle, for in that five dayes space fourscore were come in by stealth, he caus'd them all to be drawne out in the castle yard, and perceiving that those he last saw were friends, he sent out his brother, Maior Hutchinson, with all the musketeers that could be spared, to helpe drive the enemie out of the towne. They having effected what they came for, in fortifying the bridges, had nothing more to doe but to gett safe of, which they endeavour'd with more hast and disorder then became good and stout souldiers. When Maior Hutchinson came into the towne with his men, they greedie of knowing what was become of their wives and houses, dropt so fast from behind him, to make the enquirie, that they had left him only in the head of sixteene men, when Sr. Richard Biron, with Captaine Hacker, follow'd by a whole troope of horse and a foote company, came upon him. The maior commanded his men to charge them, which they did, but shott over, yet falling in with them pell mell, they had gotten Sr. Richard Biron downe, and they had his hatt, but he escaped, though his horse was so wounded that it fell dead in the next streete.

These men that came to the governor's re-

liefe were Captaine White with his troope, who quarter'd at Leicester, in his returne from Lincolneshire, from whence he was coming back to Nottingham, and at Leicester mett the messenger the governor had sent for assistance, which he prosecuted so, that from the two garrisons of Leicester and Derby, with his owne troope, he brought about four hundred men. Assoone as they were come into the towne Sr. John Gell's men, seeing the cavalliers had a mind to be gone, interrupted them not, but being as dextrous at plunder as fight, they presently went to Topladie's house, who had betrey'd the towne, and plunder'd it and some others, while the governor's souldiers were busie in clearing the towne of the enemie. When they had done this, the governor did what he could to restreine the plunder; but the truth is, Gell's men were nimble youths at that worke, yett there was not very much mischief done by them. Topladie's house fared the worst, but his neighbours saved much of his goods; he himselfe, with severall other townsmen and countriemen, who had bene very active against the well-affected, at this time were brought up prisoners to the castle. There were not above five-and-twenty of the Newark souldiers taken; how many were slaine at their going of and during the time of their stay we

could not certeinely tell, because they had meanes of carrying them of by the bridge, where they left Captaine Hacker governor[u] of their new fort with fourscore men. Their prisoners and plunder they sent away in boates to Newark; many of the townsmen went with them, carrying away not only their owne, but their neighbours' goods, and much more had bene carried away, but that the unexpected sally of the castle prevented them. Dr. Plumptre, one of the committee of Nottingham, whom they found prisoner at the marshall's house in the towne, and releas'd, went out of towne with them. This man, when he had provok'd the governor to strike him, upon his mallitious and uncivill raylings against him for the respect he shew'd to the godly men of the towne, had retir'd to the house of a mallignant gentleman, in arms against the parliament, had receiv'd a protection from the governor of Newark, and had divers meetings

[u] The brother of Colonel Hacker, who was tried, condemned, and executed, for attending the execution of Charles the First. This brother, who served the king during the whole war with great zeal, could not obtain the pardon of Col. Hacker, nor prevent the confiscation of his family estate, which was granted to the Duke of York, the king's brother, from whom he was obliged to ransom it at a high rate: it lay at Colston Basset, joining to Owthorpe.

with the Newark officers, yet after all this had the impudence to come into the towne of Nottingham; and in all the taverns and alehouses he came into, to belch out abominable scoffes and taunts against the governor and the committee men, before Coll. Thornhagh's face, who commanded him out of the room for it; and upon information of these things to the governor and the committee, he was sent for by some musketeers, and the enemie's protection for himselfe and his goods found about him, for which he was committed prisoner, but there being no good accommodation for him in the castle, the governor, in more civility then he deserv'd, suffer'd him to be in the towne, whence he went with them, and after retir'd to Derby. At the same time, the cavalliers having taken some prisoners upon the parliament's score who liv'd quietly in the country, the committee had fetcht in some gentlemen's sonns of their party, who were left at their fathers' houses, whereof one was remaining at the marshall's house when the cavalliers came into the towne, whom the governor suffer'd to be there upon his parolle, there being no good accommodation for him in the castle. Him the cavalliers would have had to have gone away with them, but he would not; which handsome behaviour

so tooke the governor, that he freely gave him his liberty without exchange.[x]

Assoone as the enemie was driven out of the towne the governor brought downe two pieces of ordinance to the markett place, and entreated the souldiers that were come from Leicester and Derby to march with him immediately, to assault them in their fort at the bridges, before they had time to put themselves in order, and recollect their confused soules, after their chase; but the maior of Derby, an old dull headed Dutchman, sayd ten thousand men could not doe it, and would by no means be entreated to go on, nor to stay one day longer, but to stand by, while the governor made the attempte, with his owne men. He, when he saw he could not prevaile, thought it not convenient, at that time, to urge his men, beyond their power, after they had had a week of such sore labour, and so, much discontented that he could not effect his desire, he drew back his ordinance into the castle. Here his weomen, while the men were all otherwise employ'd, had provided him as large a supper as the time and

[x] This story resembles some of those recited in the early and virtuous times of the Roman republic. Such anecdotes serve to relieve the mind, fatigued with reading of the crimes and follies of mankind.

present condition would permit, at which he entertain'd all the strangers, and his owne officers and gentlemen.

There was a large roome, which was the chapell, in the castell: this they had fill'd full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, call'd the Lion's Den; and the new Captaine Palmer, and another minister, having nothing elce to doe, walk'd up and downe the castle yard, insulting and beating the poore prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter, one of the Derby captaines was slaine, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon, were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsoms and plaisters in her closett, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, drest all their wounds, whereof some were dangerous, being all shotts, with such good successe, that they were all well cured in convenient time.[y] After

[y] The reader will remember that the mother of Mrs. Hutchinson had patronized and assisted Sir Walter Raleigh, when prisoner in the Tower, in his chymical experiments, and had acquired a little knowledge of medicine; whether her daughter had obtained instructions from her mother, or the mother herself was here (for she passed the latter part of her life with her daughter, and died in her house at Owthorpe), is uncertain. — Mrs. Hutchinson was certainly an extraordinary woman, and this is not one of the least singular, nor least amiable instances of it.

our hurt men were drest, as she stood at her chamber doore, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cutt, and carried downe bleeding into the Lion's Den, she desir'd the marshall to bring them in to her, and bound up and drest their wounds alsoe: which while she was doing, Captaine Palmer came in and told her his soule abhorr'd to see this favour to the enemies of God; she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies: but he was very ill satisfied with her, and with the governor presently after, when he came into a large roome where a very greate supper was prepared, and more roome and meate then guests, to fill up which, the governor had sent for one Mr. Mason, one of the prisoners, a man of good fashion, who had married a relation of his, and was brought up more in fury, then for any proofe of guilt in him, and I know not whither two or three others, the governor had call'd to meate with them; for which Captaine Palmer bellow'd lowdly against him, as a favourer of malignants and cavaliers.[z] Who could have thought this godly, zealous man, who could scarce eate his supper, for griefe to see the enemies

[z] Behold a presbyterian and a sectary, a Levite and a Samaritan!

of God thus favour'd, should have after enter'd into a conspiracy, against the governor, with those very same persons, who now so much provok'd his zeale? But the governor tooke no notice of it, though he sett the very souldiers a muttering against him and his wife, for these poore humanities.

The next day the neighbour forces return'd home. Coll. Thornhagh having lost the most of his troope, went to London to gett another. Captaine White stay'd at Nottingham with his, where intelligence being given, that the cavaliers intended to possesse themselves of Broxtowe and Woollerton, two gentlemen's houses within two miles apiece of Nottingham, Captaine Palmer was sent, with the remainder of his men, to keepe Broxtowe house, and the governor's captaine lieftenant, with his company, to Woollerton. The governor, at Nottingham, broke up the Line Bridge to prevent the cavaliers coming suddenly that way into the towne; then he blockt up the lanes next the castle, and cut up all the hedges, that were dangerous to make approaches to the castle, and having the experience of the mischiefe of it, pull'd downe St. Nicholas' church by the advice of the committee.[a]

[a] It is said, in Deering's History of Nottingham, that this church was pulled down by Col. Hutchinson, and the bells

Presently after the cavaliers were gone out of towne, some naughty people, sett on by them, fir'd the towne, but it was quenched without burning above two or three houses, yett for a fortnight together it was perpetually attempted, fire being lay'd to hay-barnes and other combustible places, insomuch that the weomen were forc'd to walke by fiftie in a night to prevent the [b]burning, which the committee perceiving to be attempted by the instigation of the Newark gentlemen, they writt them worde, that if they forbade not their instruments, if so much as one house were fired, they would fire all the cavaliers houses near them. The gentlemen return'd them a scornefull letter, full of taunts and dis-

carried to Owthorpe; which last was at that time impossible, the enemy being in possession of the vale of Belvoir and the ways to it. And moreover, the church at Owthorpe was, as Deering in another place observes, too small to contain them. In Throsby's edition of Thoroton, he remarks that neither Deering nor Thoroton were properly acquainted with the circumstances of that affair, and mentions, that in digging near the foundation of the present tower, (for the church has been rebuilt), a bell was found evidently broken to pieces at the demolition of the church; probably by the cannon shot which was sent in answer to Major Cartwright's message. The situation of this church was both very near to the castle, and on a parallel height.

[b] This is a curious fact, and points out a way of turning to use and profit the timorousness and watchfulness of her sex.

daine, but after that no more houses were attempted with fire.

The Derby souldiers, when they return'd home, being askt why they left the cavaliers at the bridges unassaulted, made answer, they would have beaten them out, but the governor would not lend them a piece of ordinance out of his castle; which false report, when the governor heard, peek'd him heartly, being so notorious a lie; for he drew downe two pieces of ordinance, and could not entreate them but to stand by, while he attempted it with his owne men, but their Maior Molanus, being an old souldier, discourag'd our souldiers, and told them, it was a vaine and impossible attempt. For this cause, the governor resolv'd he would sett upon it alone, whenever it was seasonable, and watching an opportunity, he soone tooke it, at a time, when intelligence was brought him, that all the forces Newark could send forth, were gone upon a designe into Lincolneshire. Then, on the Lord's Day, under colour of hearing a sermon at the greate church in the towne, he went thither, and after sermon, from the steeple tooke a view of the fort at the bridges, no one perceiving his designe, but his engineer, who was with him, and tooke a full survey of Hacker's workes. Then, after supper, he call'd the committee together, and

communicated his intentions to them, which they approv'd of. So all that night he spent in preparations against the next morning; he sent away orders to the horse and foote that lay at Broxtowe to come to him in the morning by eight of the clock, with all the pioneers they could gather up in the country; he sent into the towne, and caused all the pioneers there to be brought up, under pretence of making a brestwork before the castle gates, and pretending to sett them upon the platformes, caused all the cannon basketts to be fill'd, which he intended for rolling trenches. All things, betimes in the morning, being gotten into perfect readinesse, and so discreetly order'd, that the enemie had no notice from any of their friends in towne, nor knew aniething of the designe, till it was readie, the governor, about eleven of the clock, on Munday morning, marcht out, although the weather at that time, being very tempestuous and rayny, seem'd to have combin'd with his enemies and withstood the attempt; but the souldiers were rather animated then discourag'd, thinking that difficulties, after they were vanquisht, would encrease their glory. So when the ugly storme had, three or foure howers, wasted itselfe in its fury on them, it fell at their feete, and no more envious clowds obscur'd the chearfull face of heaven, so long

as they continued in the field. The governor's owne company marcht through the meadowes and gave the alarum to the enemies foote, while Mr. George Hutchinson's company went through the lanes, to gaine a nooke, which was very advantageous for the approaches of our men, and which they easily possest themselves of, and then advancing, planted their colours within musket shott of the fort. Although they planted so many colours, the governor had but eight score foot, and a hundred horse, in all that went with him, out of the castle, but he sett the pioneers fairely among them to make the better shew.

When the colours were thus planted, the pioneers were sett to worke to cast up a brestworke, and being left in a safe posture with the inferior officers, the governor and his brother went up to the castle, to order the drawing downe of the ordinance: meanwhile the cavaliers sallied out of their fort to gaine the colours, at whose approach all the pioneers ranne away from their workes, but the souldiers kept their ground and their colours, and beate back the enemie into their owne fort, killing some of them, whereof two were left dead before our men, whom they thought it not safe to carry of. Our horse meeting the flying pioneers, brought them back againe to their workes, which they continued all that

day, and the cavaliers attempted no more sallies. At evening the ordinance were brought downe and planted within musket-shott of the fort, and then the governor dispatcht a messenger to Derby to tell Sr. John Gell, if he pleas'd to send any of his men, they might come and see the fort taken. Accordingly on Tuesday the Dutch Maior came, with about six score foote and dragoones. Hard by the fort, at the bridges, at that side our men approacht, there were two houses full of coales, into which, if the cavaliers had put any men, they might have done much mischiefe, to the assailants, wherefore the governor sent two or three souldiers, who very boldly went allmost under their workes and fired them both, by the light of which, burning all night, the governor's men wrought all that night in their trenches, and cutt a trench in the meadowes, some of them calling to the cavaliers in the fort, and keeping them in abusive replies, one upon another, while the pioneers carried on their workes; the governor and his brother, and all the other officers, continuing all night in the trenches with them, they behav'd themselves so chearefully, that the governor gave them the next morning twenty pounds, and they had very good drinke and provisions brought them out of the garrison, which much encourag'd them,

but the governor's presence and alacrity among them much more. When Derby men came on Tuesday, the Dutch maior came downe to the trenches, and told the governor that he wonder'd he would attempt the fort, for it was impregnable, and therefore much disswaded him from going on, and say'd he and his men would returne. The governor told him he and the souldiers with him were resolv'd to leave their lives rather then their attempt, and if they fail'd for want of seconding, by that force which was sent with him to their assistance, let the blame lie on him. When the Derby officers saw him so resolute to persist, they, after much disswasion and dispute, determin'd to stay, and the officers went up with the governor to supper in the castle; the souldiers to quarters provided for them in the towne: but after supper, the governor went downe againe, and stay'd all night in the trenches with his men, and left them not as long as they stay'd there, but only to fetch downe what was necessary for them. He, his brother, and all the officers, were every night with them, and made them continue their custome of rayling at each other in the darke, while they carried on their approaches. There was in the Trent, a little piece of ground which, by damming up the water, the cavaliers had made an island;

while some of the souldiers held them in talke, others on Wednesday night cut the sluce, and by breake of day on Thursday morning had pitcht two colours in the island, within carabine shot of the fort, and the governor's companie had as much advanc'd their approach on the other side. When they in the fort saw, in the morning, how the assailants had advanct, while they were kept secure in talke all the night, they were extremely madde, and swore like devills, which made the governor and his men greate sport: and then it was believ'd they in the fort began to thinke of flight; which the besiegers not expecting, still continued their approaches, and that day got forty yards nearer in the island and on the other side. Although Sr. John Gell's men came but on Tuesday, on Thursday the second messenger came from him, to call them back. The governor entreated them to stay that night and keepe the trenches while his men refresht themselves: which they did, but his men would not goe out of their trenches, but slept there to fitt themselves for the assault which the governor had resolv'd in the morning, and for that purpose, after he had left them with all things provided in their trenches, he went to the castle to see the fire-balls and other necessaries for the assault brought downe, and at

three in the morning came with them, when the souldiers told him the cavaliers in the fort had for two hours left of shooting. He sent some souldiers then to the worke sides to discover what this meant; but they, perceiving the place empty, went in and found that all the garrison was stollen away, and had left behind them four score sheep, a hundred loads of coales, twenty quarter of oates, much hay, a greate deale of plunder'd lead, and a fort so strong, that if they had had such courage as became men of their profession, they would never have quitt it. They left all their workes standing, and only broke up two arches of the Trent bridges, to hinder the governor's men from following them. Their flight was by that meanes secur'd, the river being so out that the horse could not ford over. Mr. George Hutchinson and his company were appoynted to possess and keepe the fort at the bridges, which he did, and the next weeke the garrison kept a day of solemne thanksgiving to God, for this successe and the mercy in it, whereby all their men were preserv'd, notwithstanding their very bold adventures, so that not one of them was slaine, and but four of them wounded, whereof three were so slightly hurt, that they return'd againe next day into the field. To encrease their thanks to God, newes was brought

them that the same weeke the forces that went out from Newark ioyn'd with Henderson's had receiv'd a greate overthrow by Cromwell, and my Lord Newcastle had been forc'd to rayse his siege of Hull with great losse and dishonor. Some time after the bridge was recover'd, the horse went forth and brought in some oxen of Mr. John Wood's, a iustice of the county, disaffected to the parliament, but not in action against them. He, following his oxen, came to the governor, and, after he had dispatcht his businesse, told him how Mr. Sutton would have once employ'd him on a mesage, to offer the governor any termes he would aske the king, to come over to his side and deliver up the castle to his use. Mr. Wood told him, such a message might not obtaine creditt, unlesse he had some propositions in writing, whereupon he call'd for pen and inke, and writ that he should offer the governor, if he would resigne his castle, not only to be receiv'd into favour, but to have what reward of honour, mony, or command, himselfe would propound; which paper when Mr. Wood had receiv'd, Sr. Richard Biron came in, and Mr. Sutton told him the businesse, to which Sr. Richard answer'd he believ'd it would not take effect, for he, himselfe had made the like offers to him, and

bene. reiected[c]: which Mr. Wood hearing, would not undertake the employment, but the governor made him declare the story to two of the gentlemen of the committee.

The governor not growing secure by successes, was but stirr'd up to more active preparations for the defence of the place he had undertaken, and having a very ingenuous person, Mr. Hooper, who was his engineer, and one that understood all kind of operations, in allmost all things imaginable, they procur'd some saltpeter-men and other necessary labourers, and sett up the making of pouder and match in the castle, both which they made very good; they alsoe cast mortar pieces in the towne, and finisht many other inventions for the defence of the place. The governor also caus'd a mount neere the castle to be bulwark'd, and made a platforme for ordinance, and rays'd a new worke before the castle gates, to keepe of approaches, and made a new in-worke in the fort at the bridges.

Sr. Thomas Fairfax, being overmaster'd in the North, by the Earle of Newcastle's greate armie, after his father was retir'd into Hull, came with those horse, that were left him, into

c This is the second instance of attempting Col. Hutchinson's fidelity, but the most remarkable one will be found in the sequel.

the Vale of Belvoir, and so visited Nottingham castle, where he and the commanders that were with him, considering of what advantage it was to the parliament to keepe that place, by reason of the commodious situation of it, and the passe which might be there maintain'd, between the north and south, and the happie retreate it might afford to their northern forces, he very much presst the governor and the committee to raise all the force they could, offering arms and commissions for them: especially he prest the governor to compleate a regiment for himselfe, which at that time he would not accept, because Collonell Pierrepont had not yett declar'd what he would doe with his regiment. The Collonell was then at Derby, whither some of his officers going to him, to know what they should doe, he dismisst them; yet comming to towne, he gave out strange envious whispers, and behav'd himselfe, so disingenuously to the governor, that he had iust cause to have no more regard for him, and being againe importun'd by Sr. Thomas Fairfax, he receiv'd a commission to rayse a regiment of twelve hundred. He presently recruited his owne companies, and began to rayse more: Mr. George Hutchinson was his lieftenant collonell, and one Mr. Widmerpoole his maior; there was a companie rays'd by one Captaine

Wright; there remain'd a broken piece of Coll. Pierrepont's company, and Captaine Poulton, who had bene their captaine lieftenant, being dismist by the collonell, had a new commission under the governor for a company; when those souldiers of Coll. Pierrepont's not knowing what to doe, it was determin'd at a councell of warre of strangers, whereof Sr. William Fairfax was president, that they should list under Capt. Poulton. Sr. William and Sr. Thomas Fairfax, both of them, when the governor made scruple of passing by Coll. Pierrepont, assured him that they had intelligence given them in the north of his intents to deliver Nottingham to the king.

About this time Chadwick, the deputy recorder of Nottingham, and one of the committee, came to Nottingham, from whence he went away, when the souldiers were all drawne out, and all that were fearfull went to other places to secure themselves. This fellow, being sent of a message to the Lord Fairfax, generall of the north, had receiv'd letters of credence from the committee; but insteed of prosecuting their businesse, which was to have procur'd some force from my lord to helpe keepe the place, when my Lord Newcastle was dayly expected to come against it, he procured himself a commission for a regi-

ment and a ioynt commission for himselfe and Coll. Pierrepont to be governors of the towne and castle. The last he kept very private; the first he bragg'd of as a thing, which, my lord, considering his greate abillities, would needs enforce upon him. In execution of this, he rays'd seven men, which were his meniall servants, went into Staffordshire, possest a papist's fine house, and fired it to runne away by the light, when the enemie was thirty miles of from it, and cheated the country of pay for I know not how many hundred men: for which, if he had not stollen away in the night, he had bene stoned; and as his wife past through the townes, she was in danger of her life, the weomen flinging scalding water after her. But before this, he came to Nottingham at the time the governor rays'd his regiment, and coming up to the castle behaving himselfe somewhat insolently, and casting out misterious words of his authority; the governor sett on a person to find out his meaning, to whom he shew'd a commission he had privately obtain'd some foure months before, for himselfe and Coll. Pierrepont to be ioynt governors of the county, towne, and castle; but neither now did he declare this to any of the committee, but only made some private braggs in the towne, that he would shortly come and take order for the safety of

the place, and so went out of towne againe. The governor acquainted the committee with this, who seem'd to have greate indignation at it, and writt immediately to Mr. Millington, burgesse of the towne of Nottingham, to have the government of the castle confirm'd on Coll. Hutchinson by authority of parliament. Mr. Salisbury, their secretary, had alsoe put in the government of the towne, but Coll. Hutchinson caus'd him to put it out, and the governor, being inform'd that Coll. Pierrepont, at London, was labouring to obteine a regiment, and to be sent downe as governor of the towne, for the more speedy dispatch, sent his owne chaplaine with the committee's letters to London, and sent other letters of his owne to Sr. Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him how Chadwick had abus'd my lord, his father, in the surreptitious procurement of this dormant commission, which, during all the time of danger, had layne asleepe in his pockett, and now was mention'd as a thing, whereby he might, when he would, take that place out of Coll. Hutchinson's hands, which he had with so many labours and dangers preserv'd, by God's blessing, for the parliament's service; he therefore desir'd a commission for the castle only.

Assoone as Mr. Allsop came to London, he was immediately dispatcht againe to Notting-

ham, with an order of parliament, dated November 20, 1643, for Coll. Hutchinson to be governor both of the towne and castle of Nottingham, with an ackowledgement of the good service he had done, in preserving the place, and Mr. Millington, sayd he should likewise have a commission from the Earle of Essex. At Leicester, Mr. Allsop mett letters, directed to the governor, from Sr. Thomas Fairfax, wherein was a commission enclosed from his father, then generall of all the north, for the government of both the towne and castle. These coming both together, although the generall and the parliament had added the government of the towne to that of the castle, as more honor to him, Collonell Hutchinson was for many reasons much troubled at it, among which these were some of his considerations: — First, it was allmost all malignants, there being scarce a man left that was to be confided in, except those who were allready listed into the castle. Secondly, they were not so much open professed enemies, as close, hipocriticall, false-hearted people, amongst whom were some leading eminent men, so subtile in their malignity, that though their actions were most preiudiciall to the publick service, yet did they cast such cunning specious pretences over them of publick good, that even the most upright men of the

garrison were often seduc'd by their faire colours. Thirdly, the religiousest and best people were so pragmaticall, that no act, nor scarcely word, could passe without being strictly arraign'd and iudg'd at the barre of every common souldier's discretion, and thereafter censur'd and exclaim'd at. Fourthly, the townsmen, being such as had liv'd free and plentifully of themselves, could not subiect themselves to government, but were so sawcy, so negligent, and so mutinous, that the most honorable person in the world, could expect nothing but scandall, reproach, and ingratitude, for the payment of his greatest meritt; and this the worthy governor found sufficiently from them. Lastly, the few good men, were so easily blowne up into causelesse suspicions and iealousies, and there were so many malignant whispers, dayly spread abroad, of every one in office, that it was impossible for any man, so worthily to demeane himselfe, but that a jealous misconstruction, of some inconsiderable trifle, was enough to blast the esteeme of all his actions, though never so pious and deserving, and of all things in the world, nothing was so contrary to the governor's cleare and generous heart, as a base and causelesse iealousie of him.[d] But notwith-

[b] In effect it will be seen that this gave him more uneasiness than his enemies, in the plenitude of power, were ever able to do.

standing these and many other reasons, such as the unprofitable expence of his time, estate, and labours, where he should reape neither glory nor advantage to himselfe, he consider'd that since he had rather declin'd then sought the enlargement of his power and command, and that the parliament and generalls had, at such a distance, bene moov'd, to put it unsought for, upon him, it was a worke which God call'd him to, and that the Lord, who sett him into the employment, would conquer all the difficulties. For the uniust thoughts or reports of men, or their ungratefull returns, he was as much above the griefe of that, as the vaineglorie of mutable popular applause. It was in all things his endeavour to do and deserve well, and then he never regarded the prayse or disprayse of men, for he knew that it was impossible to keepe on a constant careere of vertue and iustice, and to please all. It suffic'd him, for his inward peace, that he did not thrust himselfe into this and other employments, for any popular, ambitious, or advantageous interest of his owne, but that he was call'd of God, to the carrying on of the interest of truth, righteousnesse, and holinesse, and to the defence of his country, wherein he was faithfull, and found the Lord's protection and glorious presence, not only in

all he did, but in all he suffer'd for him and from him.

Assoone as the governor had receiv'd his commission, he thought it his duty to put it in execution, and to arm and fortifie the towne; but my Lord Newcastle comming with all his forces into Nottingham and Derbyshire, the governor, by the advice of the committee, forbore to publish his new commissions, least the enemy, perceiving an intent to enlarge the garrison, should utterly destroy the towne, before they were able to defend it. At the reading of his commission in the committee chamber, Coll. Thornhagh shew'd much discontent, and was melancholly after it; whereupon the governor told him that as he had not sought that enlargement of command, so if any of them thought themselves abridg'd by it, or any other inconvenience to the publick service, he would resigne it, and never make use of his commission. The collonell answered, with much kindnesse, that he only wonder'd how the towne came to be added, when they only writt for the castle, but he was well satisfied with it, and forc'd himselfe to a seeming content, though the truth is he had some emulation, but not mallice, to the governor; and being of a nature a little iealous and easie to be wrought upon, the wicked enemies of

the cause endeavour'd, what they could, to insinuate into him, and worke disaffection and division betweene these two gentlemen, who were the most faithfull, unbiassed, and zealous champions of the publick interest, in their country. But after Coll. Thornhagh had bene wrought up to declare discontent, there were many odde passages, by which others alsoe of the committee, who durst not before reveale their envious hearts, shew'd themselves displeas'd; whereupon, when they were all together, the governor, who hated secret heart-boylings, spoke to them, and told them, that their carriages, since the commission came to him, did manifest their dissatisfaction in it, and if they would deale ingenuously with him and let him know it, as he had not sought the additionall government of the towne, so he would never undertake it, if they had any iealousies that unknowne to them he procur'd it for himselfe, and closely sought after the enlargement of his owne power, by the abridgement of theirs, he assur'd them he was much mistaken, and that neither to Mr. Millington, nor Sr. Thomas Fairfax, had he mentioned aniething more then the government of the castle; for that of the towne he reioic'd not in it, but look'd upon it as a greate burthen; yet since it was conferr'd as an honor upon him, he should not decline serving

them therein, that had thought him worthy of it except it gave distaste to any of those present; which if it did, he would esteem it an obligation, if they would but declare it before he publisht his commission. They all unanimously replied, they were not only contented, but exceedingly well pleased in it. Then the governor told them, if they were reall,[c] as they profess'd, he should expect their ready and free concurrence with him, in all affairs tending to the publick service, and in those courses he should applie himselfe to, for the good of the garrison: and againe earnestly desir'd them, if they had any dislikes, either of him personally, or of the alteration of the towne, out of the hands it had bene in the last yeare, that they would now freely declare it; for, as he should take it exceeding kindly of them to doe so at this time; so if, after he had undertaken the charge, there should be any thwarting or crossing of powers and commands betweene them, he should not beare it: for as he should not stand upon all punctuall niceties in his command, so he would not be abridg'd of the iust and lawfull power due to him in his place. They all unanimously answer'd, it was very fitt and iust he should have it, and they would rather endeavour

[c] Reall — *Fr.* Vrais — sincere.

to uphold him in it, then any way to retrench it.

Now was my lord Newcastle's armie come into Derbyshire, and having taken some places there, nothing was expected at Derby and Nottingham but a siege; whereupon Captaine Palmer's troope was call'd away from Broxtowe, and all the rest of the horse was sent away into Leicestershire, except a few left for scouts, and assoone as they were gone my lord Newcastle's forces came and quarter'd allmost at the towne side; and in all the neere townes, and Hastings tooke this oppertunity to make a garrison att Willden ferrie.[f] By the mercy of God the enemie was restrein'd from comming up to the towne, though it lay

[f] Willden Ferry was said before to be in the possession of the king's forces; but whether that was an anachronism, or that the thing now meant was an increase of the fortifications, and the placing a larger number of men there, it is clear that the garrison of this place did after this period become a greater annoyance to the parliament, and Lord Grey of Groby, who commanded in chief the associated forces of Leicester, Nottingham, &c. attacked and took it, assisted, as Whitelock says, p. 96, by Sir John Gell, who contrived to get the thanks of the parliament for his services herein, and for taking in Winkfield manor and Shelford manor; although some time after we find him besieging Winkfield manor in conjunction with Lord Denbigh, and Shelford manor was not taken till more than two years after by Colonel Hutchinson, acting under the command of Poyntz.

had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offer'd Hotham to assigne him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a greate deale of wicked witt, and would make sport with the miseries of the poore country, and, having treason in his heart, licens'd his souldiers, which were the scumme of mankind, to all villanies in the country that might make their partie odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vext to see the country wasted, and that little part of it which they could only hope to have contribution from, eaten up by a company of men who, insteed of relieving them, devour'd them, and Hotham's souldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restraine his souldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, "he fought for "liberty, and expected it in all things." Replies follow'd, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himselfe griev'd, to complaine to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concern'd, and this being in the open field, Coll. Cromwell, who had likewise had greate provocations from him, began to shew himselfe affected with the countrie's injuries, and the

though usually they kept no centinells in the towne, yett he sent downe some officers and souldiers to shew him a guard at his entrance. When the lieftenant-collonell came to him, he made many endearing expressions to him, how much he reioyc'd when his regiment was design'd for that place where he was, and how kind an affection he retein'd for him, notwithstanding their contrary engagements. Falling into further discourse of this, he sayd that if he could but be convinc'd that the king first entertein'd papists into his armie, and that the parliament had none in theirs, he would never fight more on his side. The lieftenant-collonell told him, he should easily be able to doe that. "Well," said Dacre, "you and I must have some discourse in pri-"vate,[g] and I shall be glad if you can satisfie "me in that." Then the collonell desired some drinke might be sent out to two or three gentlemen, that stay'd on him upon the top of the hill; which the lieftenant-collonell hear-

g Though this may appear somewhat improbable in a time when religious opinions have so little effect upon political ones, it was otherwise considered at that time; for nearly at this same juncture it is to be seen, in Whitelock, page 81, that Sir E. Deering did on this very account of there being so many papists and Irish rebels entertained in the king's army, quit him and come into the parliament, who admitted him to composition, being the first.

ing, sent some of his owne officers and souldiers on horseback, to fetch them downe, who comming in all together with them, the towne rose in an uproare and came to the governor with a high complaint, that I know not how many cavaliers were come into the towne, and rid up and downe armed threatning the people to their greate terror. This the governor thinking to be true, was vext at it, and sent downe an angrie letter to his brother, requiring him to send up the men that came last into the towne. Coll. Dacre hearing this, desir'd the lieftenant-collonell that the gentlemen might passe as they came, and offer'd to goe up himselfe and answer for the offence they had given. But the lieftenant-collonell presently carried them all out of towne, and came himselfe up to the castle, taking it something unkindly that his brother should write such a letter to him, and worse that others should have suspitions of him; so that though he had made a promise to dine the Saturday following at Dacre's quarters, yet, to take away all offence and suspitions, he resolv'd he would have no more meetings with him, and to that end writt him a very civill letter to excuse him not comming; and the governor writt another to excuse the mistake, whereupon the gentlemen were sent for to the castle. Dacre return'd complimentall answers to them

both, and writt another to Captaine Poulton, entreating very earnestly the lieftenant-collonell and Captaine Poulton to come and dine with him on Wednesday, and desiring the governor he might have the honour to see him. These letters being communicated to the committee, they would faine have had the lieftenant-collonell to have gone, but he held firme to his resolution and would not; soe with their privity Captaine Poulton only went to excuse it, and two of White's officers were sent allong with him, with charge, if they could, to find out how the enemie lay. When Captaine Poulton came, the collonell entertein'd him very kindly, and expresst a greate deale of trouble that the lieftenant-collonell was not come, and tooke him aside and told him that the governor of Nottingham and his brother had now an opertunity whereby they might much advantage themselves, and doe the king excellent service. Captaine Poulton asking him how, he sayd, if the governor would deliver up the castle, he should be receiv'd into favour, have the castle confirm'd to him and his heires, have ten thousand pounds in mony, and be made the best lord in the country. If the lieftenant-collonell would deliver up the bridges, he should have three thousand pounds and what command he would aske in the army; and offer'd

Captain Poulton two thousand pounds to effect this. The captaine told him, for his owne part nothing should buy him to such a villainy, and he believ'd the same of the governor and his brother, and made no question but they had before bene attempted. The collonell told him he did not this without authority, and thereupon pull'd a paper out of his pockett, wherein were words to this effect: "These are to authorize Coll. Dacre "to treate with Coll. Hutchinson and Lief-"tenant-collonell Hutchinson for the delivery "of Nottingham-castle and the bridges, and "to make them large promises, which shall "be performed by *W. Newcastle.*" Having shew'd him this warrant, the collonell was very importunate with the captaine to acquaint the governor and his brother, and returne their answer to him upon the Friday after, when he offered to meete him, if they would, at a place call'd St. Ann's Well. Captaine Poulton told the governor and his brother, and they the committee, and shew'd them very disdainefull refusalls they all had written to the collonell, and sent him by a drumme, who was not long gone out of the garrison but another came from Coll. Dacre with a letter to Capt. Poulton, excusing himselfe that he could not stay in his quarters for him, according to appoyntment, but assuring

him that what he had promis'd should be really perform'd. The governor's drumme, in the absence of Coll. Dacre, deliver'd the three letters to Langdale, who writt them back a good civill letter, that he believ'd my lord Newcastle and Dacre, out of familiarity and acquaintance with them, might have made these offers in kindnesse to them, but for his part he should otherwise persue the king's service.[k]

After this, the weather being pretty faire, and the moone shining at that time, the governor sent out a foote companie to beate up their quarters, and gave them a fierce alarum throughout, and tooke twelve horses out of one of their stables, which they sent home. In their returne, meeting a greate body of horse, they all at once discharg'd upon them, and kill'd some eight of them, as we were told in the morning. After this charge, the horse

This proposal for betraying the castle, together with the refusal, is mentioned by Whitelock, p. 79. Mr. Noble, who is mentioned in the preface as having published the lives of one hundred and thirty-six regicides, makes this remark, "that Colonel Hutchinson hereby lost a fine opportunity of "aggrandizing himself and his family, which doubtless they "must regret." That very discerning gentleman is here informed that the Editor of this work, who is the only representative of Colonel Hutchinson in these kingdoms, is much more proud of counting amongst his ancestors so firm and faithful a patriot than the most illustrious of traitors.

immediately retreated and would not stand another, and the next day remoov'd their quarters further from the garrison. Then the governor and committee sent for the Nottingham horse back from Leicester, and appoynted them to bring five hundred musketts which were come to Leicester for the governor. They came, but left the arms behind them. Besides this the collonell and all his regiment fell into disputes, that the governors of the parliament garrisons had no command of the horse that were quarter'd in their townes; and hereupon the governor was often prevented of many opportunities advantageable to the publick service, and much discourag'd to find such obstructions from the envious pride and humour of those who should have bene his assistants; but he bore with it as long as only himselfe suffer'd by it, and was willing for quietnesse sake to passe by many iniuries offer'd himselfe, till the publick service came to be infinitely preiudic'd by it. In the meane time he went on, as well as he could, through all difficulties, in the faithfull and active discharge of his trust. He call'd a committee and councell of warre, where it was put to the question and voted, that the towne should be fortified: then he applied himselfe to the thing, and call'd a full hall of all the towne, who declar'd sufficiently their

disaffection to the parliament, but in such a subtile way as would have entrapt a lesse prudent person: but the governor overlookt many things that he saw, and made use of all the advantages they gave him, and did not manifest his resentments of aniething which they could cloake under a specious pretence, how disadvantageably soever it were design'd against the parliament interest. The whole towne unanimously voted that the place should be fortified, except Alderman Drury, and two or three that follow'd him: then the governor gave them encouraging promises of his protection and care over them, and endeavours to preserve them with his regiment, if they would assist in their owne defence. The towne being well satisfied, or at least seeming so, (for he treated them with that dexterity that they could not for shame openly oppose him, though he was not ignorant that the cavalier party curs'd him in their hearts, as the only obstacle in their greater desire of having declar'd themselves on the other side) with generall outward cheerefullnesse, in Christmas weeke, the workes were begun. About this time Sr. Thomas Fairfax being to march into Staffordshire, sent for some arms he had left in Nottingham-castle, and by the same convoy that went with them the governor gott his five hundred musketts brought

home from Leicester. Sr. Thomas sent orders to the governor to send him all the horse in the garrison, but when the governor acquainted them with it, they would none of them obey him and goe, though Sr. Thomas sent twice very earnestly for them, but stay'd in Nottingham, where they would obey no order of the governor's, and by doing things that concern'd the garrison without and against his orders, they made a sad confusion and thwarting of powers, which the governor bore with in respect to Coll. Thornhagh, who did things not so much out of mallice in himselfe, as out of a little emulation, which did not destroy his kindnesse to the governor, and by the subtile instigation of Capt. White, who wrought upon his facillity to doe those things which his mallice and factious ambition prompted him to wish, but he durst not himselfe attempt. Although the horse would not obey Sr. Thomas Fairfax, it was not out of cowardice, for the men were very stout, and chearful in the service, but only had the generall fault of all the parliament partie, that they were not very obedient to commands, except they knew and approov'd their employment: they had no sooner refus'd Sr. Thomas, but my lord Grey sending for two troopes, they went to him to Melton, which he had begun to fortifie. The governor, notwith-

standing these obstacles from secret enemies and refractory friends, carried on his business with good successe, and had many events according to his endeavours. Among the rest, his men encountering a party where Coll. Frecheville and Sr. Henry Humlack were in person, fought them, kill'd many of their men, and tooke Frecheville prisoner; but his captaine-lieftenant Jammot came to his rescue and freed him, though himselfe was taken in his stead and brought to Nottingham. Here, after he had bene sometime kept, he corrupted a souldier, who disguiz'd and led him out, and went away with him. The man being a Frenchman and a proper black man, some would needes report him to be Prince Rupert, and thereupon rays'd a greate clamor at the governor.

But before his escape, upon the fifteenth of January intelligence was brought that all the forces in Newark were marcht on a designe upon Sleeford in Lincolneshire. The governor not trusting that pretence, commanded all the souldiers and townsmen to sitt up that night and expect them; and the next morning, being Tuesday, two of his intelligencers came and brought him word very early that the designe was against Nottingham. After them the horse scouts came in with the news of their approach; the enemie's

scouts and they having fir'd upon each other. Hereupon a strong alarum was given throughout the garrison, and a foote company sent down from the castle to the workes, and the horse were there sett with them, to dispute the enemie's entrance into the towne; but the horse perceiving the enemie's body to be a greate one, retreated to the castle, and the foote seeing them gone, and none of the townsmen come forth to their assistance, made alsoe an orderly retreate back to the castle, in which there was not a man lost nor wounded. The workes being imperfect and quitted, were easily enter'd, though the cannon that play'd upon them from the castle tooke of wholly the second file of musketeers that entered the gates. The first was led up by Lieft. Coll. Cartwright, who two dayes before had sent to the governor for a protection to come in and lay downe armes. The enemie being enter'd, possest themselves of St. Peter's Church and certeine houses neere the castle, from whence they shott into the castle-yard and wounded one man and killed another, which was all the hurt that was done our men that day.

The governor was very angrie with the horse for comming up so suddenly, and stirr'd them up to such a generous shame, that they dismounted, and all tooke musketts to serve

as foote, with which they did so very good service, that they exceeding well regain'd their reputations. Having taken foote armes, the governor sent one of his owne companies with part of them, and they beate the cavaliers out of the nearest lanes and houses, which they had possest, and so made a safe way for the rest to sally out and retreate, as there should be occasion.

When this was done, which was about noone, the governor sent out all the rest of the horse and foote, to beate them out of the towne. Sr. Charles Lucas, who was the chiefe commander of all the forces there, had prepar'd a letter to send up to the governor to demand of him the castle; or if he would not deliver it, that then he should send downe the maior and aldermen, threat'ning that, if they came not immediately, he would sack, and burne the towne. There were, at that time, above a thousand cavaliers in the towne, and as many in a bodie without the towne, to have beaten of Derby and Leicester forces, if they should have made any attempt to come in, to the assistance of their friends in Nottingham. On the other side the Trent, were all the forces Mr. Hastings could bring out, from his owne garrison and Belvoir and Wiverton, to force the bridges. All the cavalier forces, that were about the towne, were about

three thousand. When Sir Charles Lucas had written his letter, he could find none that would undertake to carry it to the castle, whereupon they tooke the maior's wife, and with threats, compell'd her to undertake it; but iust as she went out of the house from them, she heard an outcrie, that "the round-"heads were sallying forth," whereupon she flung down their letter and ran away; and they ran as fast, from foure hundred souldiers, who came furiously upon them out of the castle, and surpriz'd them, while they were secure the castle would not have made so bold an attempt. But the governor's men chased them from streete to streete, till they had clear'd the towne of them, who runne away confusedly; the first that went out shott their pistolls into the thatcht houses to have fired them, but by the mercy of God neither that, nor other endeavours they shew'd to have fired the towne, as they were commanded, tooke effect. Betweene thirty and forty of them were killed in the streetes, fourscore were taken prisoners, and abundance of armes were gather'd up, which the men flung away in hast, as they run; but they put some fire into a hay barne and hay mowes, and all other combustible things they could discerne in their hast, but by God's mercy the towne notwithstanding was preserv'd from burning.

Their horse fac'd the towne in a vally where their reserve stood, while their foote marcht away, till towards evening, and then they all drew of. Many of them died in their returne, and were found dead in the woods and in the townes they past through. Many of them, discourag'd with this service, ran away, and many of their horses were quite spoyl'd: for two miles they left a greate track of blood, which froze as it fell upon the snow, for it was such bitter weather that the foote had waded allmost to the middle in snow as they came, and were so numbed with cold when they came into the towne, that they were faine to be rubbed to get life in them, and in that condition, were more eager of fires and warm meate then of plunder, which sav'd many men's goods, and their security, that did not believe an enemie who had unhandsomely, to speak truth, suffer'd them to enter the towne without any dispute, would have durst, at such greate odds, to have sett upon driving them out. Indeed no one can believe, but those that saw that day, what a strange ebb and flow of courage and cowardize there was in both parties that day. The cavaliers marcht in with such terror to the garrison, and such gallantry, that they startled not when one of their leading files fell before them all at once, but marcht boldly over the

dead bodies of their friends, under their enemies cannon, and carried such valliant dreadfullnesse about them, as made very courageous stout men recoyle. Our horse, who ran away frighted at the sight of their foes, when they had brest-workes before them, and the advantage of freshnesse, to beate back assaylants, allready vanquisht with the sharpnesse of the cold and a killing march, within three or four howers, as men that thought nothing too greate for them, return'd fiercely upon the same men, after their refreshment, when they were enter'd into defensible houses. If it were a romance, one should say after the successe, that the heroes did it out of excesse of gallantry, that they might the better signalize their vallour, upon a foe who was not vanquisht to their hands by the inclemency of the season; but wee are relating wonders of Providence, and must record this as such a one as is not to be conceiv'd, but by those who saw and shar'd in it; it was indeed a greate instruction, that the best and highest courages are but the beames of the Almighty; and when he withholds his influence, the brave turne cowards, feare unnerves the most mighty, makes the most generous base, and greate men to doe those things they blush to thinke on; when God againe inspires, the fearefull and the feeble see no dangers, be-

lieve no difficulties, and carry on attempts whose very thoughts would, at another time, shiver their ioynts like agues. The events of this day humbled the pride of many of our stout men, and made them after more carefully seeke God, as well to inspire as prosper their vallour; and the governor's handsome reproaches of their faults, with shewing them the way to repaire, retriev'd their stragling spirits, and animated them to very wonderfull and commendable actions.

The governor would not let his men persue the reare, but thought they might, in the night, have compleated their dayes worke, if they had fallen into the enemie's quarters, which he gave orders to the horse to doe, but Coll. Thornhagh would not obey them, because they came from him, and so lost a greate opertunity, and contented himselfe with praysing God for the greate deliverance of the day, wherein there was not one townsman that came in to the assistance of the souldiers.

The next day, the governor call'd the towne together, represented to them the mercie of God and the mallice of their enemies, who, without regard of any friends they had among them, came purposely to fire the towne, which God alone preserv'd, who having shew'd them their danger, requir'd they should be no longer slothfull in their owne

defence, but to take armes to preserve their famelies and houses. He propounded to them, that if they would soe doe, they should chuse their owne captaines. They considering the iust reasons and motives with which he urg'd them, at length resolv'd to ioyne in their owne defence and chose four captaines; but the captaines refusing, the souldiers that day went home unlisted, yett by the governor's dexterity in managing them, he at last brought foure hundred, whereof more then half were high malignants, to list themselves under one Mr. Coates, a minister, an honest godly man[i], and Mr. Mason[k], an atturney, a greate cavalier, but a reserv'd silent man, who, for an austere knitt of his brow, and a grave severe countenance, had the reputation of a wise man, but was knowne to be disaffected to the parliament, though cunning enough not to doe aniething that might expose him to sequestration. Into these men's hands he put armes, and so order'd them, that at the last

[i] It appears from this that Mr. Palmer, mentioned before, and who will be mention'd more than once in the sequel, was not quite singular in taking up arms notwithstanding his function. The famous preacher Hugh Peters, acted as an officer of horse. It was in those days common to quote the expression, that the saints should have the praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands!

[k] The same whom, when put into confinement at the castle, the governor invited to his table.

they grew fiercer in the service then those who were uprightly honest.

The next month the Lord Chaworth sent a letter to the governor, acquainting him that he was sick, and desir'd a protection to come and remain at his owne house, in order to making his peace with the parliament, which protection the governor gave him.

The governor had acquainted the parliament with the late successes, whereupon they order'd a thousand pounds to be sent to the garrison out of the sequestrations of London, and the excise of the towne to goe to the payment of the garrison; but through Mr. Millington's negligent prosecution, the thousand pounds never came.[1]

The governor went on againe successfully in his employment, and began to endeare himselfe to all the towne as well as the souldiery, which awak'ning White's sleeping envie, he cast new plotts to disturbe him; and first made a motion to send to London for two hundred souldiers: to which the governor answer'd—If they were honest, there were men enough to keep the garrison; if they were not, to call in other forces was but to baite their treachery with a greater prize; and that to send for more force, while they

[1] Mentioned by Whitelock as *given*.

had so slender maintenance for these, was to encrease trouble without any benefitt.

The same afternoone the committee sent the governor a warrant to be signed, which was before subscrib'd by foure of them, White in the front. The warrant was to this effect:

To Mr. HOOPER, *Engineer of the Garrison of Nottingham.*

"YOU are hereby requir'd to make "your present appearance to this committee, "there to give an account, what you have "done, about the workes of the towne, and "how farre you have proceeded in them; "how, and in what manner, and by what time "you intend to finish them; and what ma- "terialls are needfull for the finishing of "them, there being imminent danger to the "garrison."

Assoone as the governor receiv'd the warrant he tooke the engineer with him, and went to the committee, to whom, sayd he, "Gen- "tlemen, I receiv'd iust now such a strange "warrant from you, that I can impute it "to nothing, but a pick't occasion of quarrell. "If you desire to question aniething in the "fortifying of the towne, I have not only

" brought the engineer, but am here myselfe
" to answer it: if there be mony in his hands,
" let him give you an account of it; but con-
" cerning the fortifications, I conceive he is
" only to be accountable to me; therefore
" why this warrant should be made, I cannot
" tell, unlesse purposely to affront me; as for
" that imminent danger you pretend, it is ut-
" terly unknowne to me, and if there be any,
" I ought to have been acquainted with it, and
" desire now to understand it." They an-
swer'd. " Were they not in dayly perill?"
He replied, " That was certeine, but at this
" time none more imminent than usually, that
" he knew of; and further desir'd them, if he
" had bene negligent of those things, which
" conduc'd to the safety of the towne, that
" they would article against him, whatever
" they could accuse him of; if he had done
" nothing worthy of blame, he tooke it ex-
" ceeding ill, to be thus thwarted and af-
" fronted in his iust and lawfull command."
Upon replies and debate, White sayd, " If
" Hooper did not render them an account of
" his workes, they would clap him by the
" heeles." Whereupon the governor, address-
ing to him only, told him, " That from the
" first opening of his commission, he had
" manifested his discontent, and that he had
" taken notice of his secret endeavours to

" oppose, and was glad the humour was now
" so ripe as to vent itselfe; that for the time
" to come, since he saw his condiscentions
" did but encourage them to wrest all things
" from him, and to question all his dues, he
" would now expect that full observance from
" them all, that was due from the officers of
" a garrison to the governor; that he expected
" the horse should receive orders from him,
" and that he would no more put up such af-
" fronts and neglects as he had that very day
" receiv'd, when calling for a muster of the
" horse to have bene sent out upon a very
" advantageable designe, a whole troope, un-
" knowne to him, was, by the committee, sent
" out for hay, whereby that opertunity was
" lost; he told them further, protections
" charging officers and souldiers to forbeare
" plunder, ought to be given only by him
" upon their certificate, and not by them:
" and," sayd he, " Gentlemen, I receiv'd that
" affront from you lately, which no governor
" in the world, but myself, would have put up
" with; when at a publick councell of warre,
" among all the officers, enough to have caus'd
" a mutinie, it was propounded how farre my
" command extended, and question'd whither
" I could command horse in the garrison?
" And all of you, at a councell of warre, or-
" der'd the booty taken should be at the dis-

" posal of the chiefe officer that went out; so " that if a corporall went out, he must dispose " the booty, which in all garrisons is the go- " vernor's right to doe."

While they were in this dispute, the lieftenant collonell came in, and seconded his brother; and after some smart disputes on both sides, they parted for that night.

The next morning the committee sent for the governor, who coming to them, one of them drew a paper out of his pockett, and offer'd some propositions to the governor; which were, first, that the dispute betweene them might be silenc'd and kept private; next, that he would ioyne with them, in a letter to Mr. Millington, to desire him to get the question decided by the close committee, What were the severall powers of a governor, and a committee? And, lastly, that he would draw up what he conceived his power to be. To this the governor replied, that for silencing the thing, he was very willing to doe it; for sending to the close committee, he very well understood his owne power, and if they question'd it, they might send whither they pleas'd, to satisfie themselves; for setting downe the particulars, wherein he conceiv'd his power to consist, when he did aniething which they thought belong'd not to him, let them call him to question where they pleas'd,

and he should be ready to give an account of his actions, but he would not make himselfe so ridiculous, as to send for satisfaction in unquestionable things; yet to inform them, if any of them pleas'd, he would goe allong with them, either to my Lord of Essex, or my Lord Fairfax, to have the power of a governor decided. They told him the generalls understood not the power of a committee as the parliament, and therefore writt a letter to Mr. Millington with extraordinary commendations of the governor, yet desiring to know the extent of his power, and shew'd it to him. He told them, if they believ'd those things they writt of him, he wondered whence all this discontent should arise, for he appeal'd to them all, whether, ever since he undertooke the government, he had usurp'd any command over them, or done so much as the least inconsiderable act without acquainting them, and receiving their approbation; and what should ayle them, he could not imagine, unless they were discontented at his being made governor; which if they were, they might thank themselves, who put it upon him, when he receiv'd nothing but trouble, expence, and danger in it. They all acknowledg'd his appeale true, and sayd they had desir'd his establishment in the government of the castle, as the man they

esteem'd most worthy of it and most fitt for it. He told them, if the addition of the towne grieved them, that was to be transferr'd on the parliament, who without his seeking had added that to him. One of them replied, they had so worthy an opinion of him, that they wish'd the assessing of the country too might be only put into his power. He sayd, he should have bene oblig'd to them had this proceeded from aniething but discontent, and that if without his owne seeking he should be honour'd with that trust, as he was with this, he should endeavour to discharge it faithfully; but he rather desir'd it might continue in the hands it was, and if he were negligent to fetch in those assessments, which were given him, then let the blame lie on him; but for rating and assessing the townes, those who were acquainted with the country were fittest for it; and thus for the present it rested.

The designe they prevented by sending out the troope unknowne to him, was the saving the towne of Southwell from being made a garrison for the king; which the towne being unwilling to, sent word to the governor, that if he would come and assist them, they would ioyne with him to beate out some souldiers that had intent to fortefie themselves there; but the horse, by reason

of their employment, failing those two dayes, and extraordinary ill weather comming after, that opertunity was lost: this was about the middle of February. Captaine White continued still afterwards to prevent all designes, whose events might any way have conduc'd to the governor's honour, not weighing what hinderance it was to the publick service, which was a greate vexation to the governor; but his courage was above their mallice, and his zeale to the service carried him vigorously on, in all things which he could accomplish by his owne officers and souldiers, who were more obedient to him; and, although this was the exercise of his patience, yet was it alsoe a spurre to his diligence, and made his fidellity more illustrious, and kept him more in waiting upon God, and more strict in the watch over all his actions, because he knew how all his enemies watcht for his fall.

Upon the eleventh of February, Cornett Palmer, who had bene prisoner at Newark, came home and told the governor that he had discover'd in his prison a designe intended about this time to surprize the bridge by Hacker's souldiers, who were to come in the habitt of markett people the next Saturday. This intelligence was seconded, whereupon the governor sent his officers to command all the bridge souldiers to keepe in their quarters

that day: he commanded alsoe all the horse in the towne to be ready to goe out upon the first sound of the trumpett, and gave orders for all the drums in the garrison to beate betimes in the morning; the lieftenant collonell sett out a guard beyond the bridge, with charge strictly to examine all passengers. About eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 17th of February, they tooke twelve of them[m] upon the bridges, disguiz'd like markett men and woemen, with pistolls, long knives, hatchetts, daggers, and greate pieces of iron about them, whereupon they sent and acquainted the governor, who being himselfe on horseback at the workes, went immediately downe to the bridge, and commanded all the horse to come away and pursue them, but the horse commanders, being allwayes slow in obeying his commands, came not till the enemie's foote beyond the bridge, perceiving their fellowes were taken upon the bridge, retir'd and gott safe of, only nine who were to have assassinated these at the bridge, and advanct forwarder then the rest, for that purpose, were overtaken, and with their captaine leapt into the Trent, to have sav'd themselves, of whom our men pluckt foure out of the water, five were drown'd, and the cap-

[m] Hacker's souldiers.

taine swom to shore on the other side. The governor was in doubt whether these men taken in disguizes were to be releas'd as prisoners of warre, or executed as spies and assassines by martiall law; but though he had not carr'd if the bridge-souldiers had turn'd them into the Trent when they tooke them, he afterwards releas'd them all upon exchange, except one Slater, a souldier of his owne that had runne away to the enemie, and this day was taken coming into the towne, with a mountero[n] pull'd close about his face, but denied that he was of the designe; yet after, upon triall at a court-martiall, he was condemn'd and executed. The governor had sent out some horse and foote, to drive the grounds at the enemie's garrison at Shelford, which they did, and from under the very workes from which the enemie shott at them, brought away many beasts and horses, that belong'd to the garrison, and brought them up into the castle-yard. The governor being then in the committee chamber, told them it was fitt the souldiers should have a reward, whereupon it was order'd to give them six pounds, and the governor told the souldiers the committee had assign'd them a reward; but when they came to receive it, Salisbury, the treasurer,

[n] A kind of cap so called.

tith'd it out, and gave the souldiers groates apiece, and sixpence apiece to the officers, which in all came but to forty shillings and odde money; which the souldiers, being madded at, flung back his mony, and desir'd a councell of warre, to doe them right; which the governor assented to, and the next day the businesse being heard at a full councell of all the officers of the garrison, it was determin'd by the unanimous vote of all but Mr. Salisbury, that in regard the enemie shott at them when they tooke the bootie, it did of right belong to the souldiers that fought for it, and so they had it; whereupon Salisbury flung away from the board in a greate huffe and muttering, for which the governor rebuk'd him, and told him such carriage ought not to be suffer'd in him, who, as an officer, ought to have more respect to the place and them that sate there. After this, about eighteen of the lieftenant collonell's men went out and mett twenty-five men in armes, betweene them there was a brooke, the bridge men call'd to them, and ask'd of what side they were, and perceiving they were cavaliers, told them, after some little defies between them, that though the number was unequall, they would fight with them; and passing over the brooke, charged them, put them to flight, kill'd two of them, tooke eight prisoners and

twelve of their horses. Upon examination they were found to be northerne gentlemen, who having listed themselves in the prince's owne troope, after the death of Sr. Thomas Biron that commanded under the prince, were assign'd to my Lord Wentworth, at which being discontented, they were now returning into their owne country, being allmost all of them gentlemen. Sir Richard Biron, for his brother's memory, exchang'd them for prisoners of Nottingham, taken when the towne was first surpriz'd.

In the end of this month, on the fast day, the nationall covenant was taken, with a greate solemnity, both by the souldiers and inhabitants, men and women, [o] of the garrison. This day, unexpectedly, came Sir Edward Hartup, with a thousand horse of Leicester and Derby, to which the governor added betweene five and six hundred, Sr. Edward being appoynted to command the party, should have gone with them to take Muscam Bridges, at Newark, before which place Sr. John Meldrum was now come, with about seven thousand men, and had lay'd siege to it. The horse of Newark, assoone as the parliament's forces came, made an escape over Muscam Bridge, which Sr. Ed-

o Nota bene.

ward Hartup, having more mind to drinke then fight, lingring a day at Nottingham, and then marching to no purpose against it, lost his opertunity of taking; yet God, by a providence, gave it up with 200 men that kept it to the parliament's forces, who had they then persued their successe, they might have carried the towne too, but it was not God's time then to deliver the country of that pernitious enemie. The horse that were escaped out of Newark, went into all their garrisons in the Vale and Derbieshire, and gather'd up all the force they could make, to about the number of two thousand, and with these they came and quarter'd neere Nottingham; themselves and the country giving out that they were about four thousand.

There was a fast kept at Nottingham, to seeke God for his presence with our armies, and before the first sermon was ended, the enemies horse came to the towne-side and gave a strong alarum, and continued facing the towne till night, at which time they return'd to their quarters, and those horse that were in the garrison following their reare, glean'd up two lieftenants and two or three other officers: the next day the body march'd iust by the town-side, and so past over the river at Wilden Ferry. After they were gone from about Nottingham, the governor went

downe to the Leager, at Newark, where Sr. John Meldrum had made all things ready for a generall assault of the towne; but at a councell of warre that was call'd in the field, it was determin'd that it should not then be, whereupon the governor of Nottingham return'd to his garrison; who comming to take his leave of Sr. John Meldrum, Sr. John entreated him that he would returne againe and be among them as much as he could, making a sad complaint of the envying, heart-burnings, and dissentions that were among the severall commanders, so that he had much adoe to hold them together, and had greate need of men of moderation and prudence, to assist him, and to helpe to meditate among them. The forces that Sr. John Meldrum commanded before this towne, were gather'd out of severall associated counties, and the commanders so emulous of one another, and so refractory to commands, and so peeking in all punctillios of superiority, that it gall'd the poor old gentleman to the heart, who, having commanded abroad, and bene us'd to deale with Officers that understood the discipline of warre, was confounded among those who knew not how to obey any orders, but disputed all his commands, and lost their time and honor in a fruitlesse expedition, through their vaine contentions; whereas had they

ioyn'd in the assault, then when he would have made it, they might probably have carried the towne, but missing that opertunity, they came of at last with loss and dishonor. While the governor was at the Leaguer, Sr. John Meldrum told him, that Coll. Pierrepont had bene with him, to get his hand to a paper, which should have testified, that the government of Nottingham did of right belong to him; but Sr. John answer'd he could not testifie any such thing, for it was his owne act to conferre that government, where now it was; with which Coll. Pierrepont seem'd very well satisfied at that time. When he could not prevaile in this, he desir'd Sr. John to sett his hand to another paper, which should have certified, that in all things he had approov'd himselfe most firme and faithfull to the service of the parliament. Sr. John said he would not iniure him so much as to make any such certificate, of a thing not call'd into question; but if there should be any doubt of it, he should be ready to doe him all right. Coll. Pierrepont moreover went to the governor's souldiers, that had formerly bene of his regiment, and giving them twenty shillings to drinke, told them he was to be governor of the towne, and would shortly come among them.

Sr. Edward Hartup was sent with the

party of horse he before had at Muscam bridge, to persue those that were gone out of Newark, and fight with them and hinder their ioyning with Prince Rupert, who was expected to come to rayse the siege; and when Sr. Edward came into Leicestershire the whole country rose with him, and the governor of Leicester brought out foote and cannon to assist him. His forlorne hope being of the Nottingham horse, charged the enemie's forlorne hope and routed them, and then fell into their body of foote, which they had drain'd out of their little garrisons and routed them alsoe, and if Sr. Edward Hartup would have come on with his body, they had all bene cut off; but the knight would not stirre, but commanded the forlorne hope to retreate, who had slaine and taken many prisoners of the enemie, and among them Jammot, that had lately made his escape out of Nottingham-castle. The enemie perceiving Sr. Edward would not hurt them, rallied againe and ioyn'd with Prince Rupert; of whom assoone as Sr. Edward had intelligence, he went back to Newark with such shamefull hast that he quitted Melton with all the prisoners the forlorne hope had lately taken. The Leicester forces, discourag'd at this carriage, return'd to their garrisons and marcht no more with him. [p]

[p] In Whitelock's memoirs, p. 85, there is an account of

The governor of Nottingham kept out spies upon the enemie's motions, and sent word to the Leaguer, but the gentlemen there were so over-confident, they would not believe any force could come to rayse their siege. At length, the governor of Nottingham being there himselfe, word was brought Prince Rupert was come to Ashby, wherefore he, fearing some attempt upon his garrison, to divert the forces at the siege, return'd home with his brother to looke to their charge. It was late upon Wednesday night when the governor came home, and was certeinely inform'd that Prince Rupert was, that afternoone, marcht by to rayse the siege, with about six thousand men. Immediately the governor sent two men, excellently well mounted upon his owne horses, to carry the alarum to Sr. John Meldrum, who by two of the clock on Thursday morning deliver'd him their letters, and he presently prepar'd to fight with the prince, who about nine or ten of the clock came. Sr. John had drawne all

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this relief, or raising the siege of Newark, agreeing with Mrs. Hutchinson's, except that it is not quite so particular, and omits the account of what befel Col. Thornhagh. Whitelock attributes to the misconduct of Sir. E. Hartup and Col. Bingley Prince Rupert's coming with his forces entire to the place, and informs us that a court-martial was directed to decide upon their conduct, but does not state what their decision was.

his ordnance into the walls of a ruin'd house, call'd the spittle, and the horse were first to charge the enemie. Coll. Thornhagh and Maior Rossiter gave them a very brave charge, routed those whom they first encounter'd and tooke prisoners Maior-generall Gerrard and others, and, had they bene seconded by the rest of the horse, had utterly defeated the prince's army; but the Lincolneshire troopes fled away before they ever charged, and left Coll. Thornhagh engaged, with only his owne horse, in the prince's whole body, where, they say, he charged the prince himselfe, and made his way and pass'd very gallantly through the whole army, with a greate deale of honor, and two desperate wounds, one in the arme, the other in the belly. After the Lincolneshire horse were run away, Sr. John Meldrum sent the Derby horse and the Nottingham foote, with two companies of Coll. King's to keepe Muscam bridge, and Molanus, the Derbieshire Maior, to be their commander. Coll. Thornhagh was sent home in a waggon to Nottingham. Sr. John himselfe, with the few horse and dragoones that were left of Nottingham and Derby, being about five hundred, went into the spittle, to his foote. The prince lost more then Sr. John in the skirmish, but assoone as ever Sr. John had betaken himselfe to the

spittle, the prince sent horse and foote betweene him and Muscam bridge.[q] The horse that were left there to guard the foote ran every man away, so that they had not a horse left to fetch them any provision. The maior that commanded them told them that he would goe to the next towne to buy them some bread, and with that pretence came away and never saw them more. The enemie was endeavouring to make a passage over the river, to come on the other side of them and encompasse them, which when they saw and consider'd that they had no order what to doe, nor bread for one meale, nor bullett more then their musketts were loaded withall, and that it was impossible for them to come of, if they stay'd till the enemie enclos'd them, and further discovering that their friends in the spittle were in parlee, they conceiv'd it their best way to come home, which they plotted so to doe that the enemie might not perceive it till

[q] Rapin gives a different account of this matter, but to those who know or observe the situation of the places, Mrs. Hutchinson's will appear to be the true one. Besides Muscam bridge there was a bridge of boats, which enabled the prince's forces to surround the guard left at Muscam bridge; this guard, instead of *deserting*, as Rapin says of it, was deserted and sacrificed for want of support: the road still lay open to Lincoln, but probably Prince Rupert was too strong and too active to let the besiegers escape any way unless they had acted with better accord amongst themselves.

they were out of their reach; so leaving lighted matches and squibs laid at certeine distances, to deceive the enemie, they came safe home; but within lesse than halfe an hour after they were gone the enemie came on the other side, and not missing them till morning, by reason of the squibbs, they pursued them not, by which meanes they came safe to Nottingham; which was a very seasonable mercy, for had they stay'd the choicest armes in the garrison had bene lost, and the best and most confiding souldiers disarm'd: for Sr. John agreed upon articles with the prince, to deliver up the spittle wherein he lay, with all the musketts, ordinance, and ammunition, in it; the foote souldiers to march away with colours flying, swords and pikes, the horsemen with their horse and swords, and all the commanders with their pistolls: but the prince broke all these conditions, and pillaged them to their shirts, and sent many captaines quite naked away.

The committee of Nottingham now began againe to mutter at the governor, but he would not take notice of it, but applied himselfe to take care for the securing of his towne, where the enemie now dayly threat'ned to come. So he floted the medowes on the Line side, where there was no fortification, and rays'd a fort in the middst of the medowes,

to preserve the flote, and fortified the Trent bridges more strongly, and, expecting the enemie every hower, was forc'd to let the worke goe on all the Lord's day. When, calling the captaines together, to consult the best way of preparing for their defence, Mason, the new towne captaine, tooke this time to revive the old mutiny, and said the townsmen would not stand to their workes except the ordinance were drawne downe from the castle to the towne workes: the governor rebuking him for this unseasonable insolence, he and his men were, all the time of this greate exigence, so backward that they were rather an obstruction then assistance, and there was much adoe to get them either to the workes or the guards. Indeed such a blow was given to the parliament interest, in all these parts, that it might well discourage the ill-affected, when even the most zealous were cast downe and gave all for lost: but the governor, who in no occasion ever lett his courage fall, but, when things were at the lowest, recollected all his force, that his owne despondency might not contribute aniething to his mallicious fortune, at this time animated all the honest men, and exprest such vigor and cheerefullnesse, and such stedfast resolution, as disappoynted all the mallignants of their hopes. The wives, children, and ser-

vants, of such as were in the enemie's garrisons and armies, he thought it not safe to suffer any longer in the towne, in such a time of danger, and therefore commanded them all to depart, not sparing even some of his owne relations; but though this was done by the concurrence of the whole committee, yet some of them, who were loath the towne should loose any that wisht ill to the governor and his undertakings, privately, without his consent or knowledge, brought back severall persons that were very dangerous to the place.

And now, upon the twenty-fifth day of March, a letter was brought to the governor from all the commissioners at Newark, telling him that the parliament's forces had quitt Gainsborough, Lincolne, and Sleeforth, and that the prince intended to advance against Nottingham, and to fire the towne, if he did not immediately throw downe the workes, which if he should not doe, the world would then take notice of him as the only ruine of his native country. To which the governor return'd them answer, that as he never engag'd himselfe in this service, with respect to the successe or actions of other places, so though the whole kingdome were quitt besides this towne, yet he would maintaine it so long as he was able, and he trusted that God would preserve it in his hands; but if it

perish'd, he was resolv'd to bury himselfe in the ruines of it, being confident that God would after vindicate him to have been a defender, and not a destroyer of his country. The copie of the letter which the Newark commissioners sent to the governor, was sent to one Francis Cooke, a mallignant inhabitant of the towne, subscribed with all the commissioners hands, and desiring him to communicate it to the whole towne. The governor having taken what care he could at home, sent immediately to the parliament and to the Earle of Essex, acquainting them with the desperate condition of the place, and desiring they would send him seasonable reliefe, if the prince should besiege him, promising to employ his utmost endeavor to hold it for them, or to loose himselfe with it. My lord generall return'd a very civill encouraging letter, and now the prince, two dayes after the letter, was advanc'd within three miles of Nottingham, when it pleased God to divert him from coming against the towne by letters which were brought him from Oxford, which occasion'd his hasty returne into the south, without any attempt upon the place, which by God's mercy was thus deliver'd from this threatning danger. However their enemies at Newark, by the late successe, were vere much exalted, and

by the quitting of so many parliament garrisons about them, encreas'd in power, and left at leisure to turne all their designes against Nottingham, which being so infirme within itselfe, the governor had a very difficult taske to preserve it, while the disaffected, who were subtile, did not clearely declare themselves, but watcht all opertunities to worke the governor's disturbance, by fomenting the ill humours of the factious committee men and priests; for they now tooke occasion to fall in with them, upon the governor's release of his chiefe cannoneers out of prison, into which he, by the instigation of the ministers and the godly people, whom they animated allmost to mutiny, had put them, for separating from the public worship, and keeping little conventicles in their owne chamber. It was with some reluctancy he had committed them, for the men, though of different iudgments in matter of worship, were otherwise honest, peaceable, and very zealous and faithfull to the cause; but the ministers were so unable to suffer their separation and spreading of their opinions, that the governor was forc'd to commit them; yet when this greate danger was, he thought it not prudent to keepe them discontented and then employ them, and therefore sett them at liberty, for

which there was a greate outcry against him as a favourer of separatists.[r]

[r] This being the first time that a disunion in religion among those of the parliament's party has been plainly named, it is proper here to state, that in the outset all those sects, which have since taken so many various names, joined their forces to repel the encroachments of the *Prelates*,—it would not be fair to say of the *Church of England*, whose characteristic is moderation itself,—but when they had almost crushed the Episcopalians, the Presbyterian ministers began to rise pre-eminent in power, and to shew that though they had changed the name, they by no means intended to diminish the dominion of the hierarchy. There are preserved in Whitelock two speeches, one of his own and one of Selden's on this subject. To resist this usurpation there arose a very powerful party or faction under the name of Independents, under whose banner enlisted all who desired liberty of conscience, of whatever particular persuasion they might be; and, amongst others, most naturally all such as wished to see the Church of England restored to her purity, and redeemed from her servility and subserviency to the usurpations of the crown; but whose hopes would have been totally destroyed if Presbytery obtained a full and firm establishment. It is extraordinary that almost all the historians put the cause for the effect, and suggest that many members of the parliament, and at the head of them Cromwell, raised this faction to obtain their own exaltation; whereas intolerancy raised it in the nation at large, and especially in the army, and Cromwell availed himself of it when raised. In a a scarce book, called Anglia Rediviva, or the Success of the Army under Fairfax, written by Joshua Sprigge, he says, "the "army was, what by example and justice, kept in good order "both respectively to itself and the country: there were many "of them differing in opinion, yet not in action nor business; "they all agreed to preserve the kingdom; they prospered

It will not be amisse, in this place, to carry on the parliament story, that we may

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"in their unity more than uniformity, and whatever their "opinions were, they plundered none with them, they be- "trayed none with them, nor disobeyed the state with them, and "they were more visibly pious and peaceable in their opinions "than many we call orthodox." Let the blame of all the misfortunes that flowed from it rest with those who gave disturbance to such men, not to those who screened them from persecution.

The chief of these cannoneers was that Lawrence Colin mentioned in a former note, page 202. He continued at Nottingham after all the wars were over, but being persecuted on account of his religion, applied to Cromwell for protection, and was effectually screened by him from his persecutors; he lived to more than ninety years; his descendants rose to opulence, and one of them founded a very handsome hospital. This family united themselves to that of Langford, and both being molested on the score of nonconformity, were peculiarly protected by James the Second, and stood stedfastly by him at the revolution, at which time he got many sectaries to join the catholics, and make common cause against the church of England. By this turn of events and opinions Langford Colin, Esq. before mentioned, came to be the head of the country, Jacobite, or anti-revolutionist party, while the Plumtres and Hutchinsons embraced the Hanover or Whig party, as mentioned in the note, page 202, just spoken of.

Since the publication of the first edition, there has appeared a very candid critique of this work in the Annual Review for 1806, containing the following remark. "It may be mention- "ed as an additional proof of Mr. Hutchinson's rectitude, that "when George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, was im- "prisoned at Nottingham, he protected him; thus proving that, "unlike the greater number of those who were engaged in the

the better iudge things at home, when we know the condition of affaires abroad. The queene, being suffer'd to passe through Nottinghamshire by those forces which were sent downe thither to have prevented her, ioyn'd with Prince Rupert and came to the king, and was by the parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown iewells in Holland, encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a papisticall armie in England, &c.

" same cause, he allowed that liberty of conscience to others " which he claimed for himself."

The editor thought it his duty, upon this suggestion, to make further inquiry, and has in pursuance of it been furnished by a respectable Friend, Mr. Barker, Surgeon, at Colchester, with the two following extracts, together with some others, which will appear in their proper places.—G. Fox's Journal, fol. ed. p. 27. " I went to the Steeple House, at Nottingham, during " the time of divine worship, addressed the people, and was " committed to prison. When the Assizes came on, there " was one moved to come and offer himself up for me, body for " body, yea life also: but when I should have been brought " before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in " fetching me to the Session's-house, the judge was risen be- " fore I came, at which I understood he was somewhat offend- " ed. So I was returned to prison, and put into the common " gaol; and the Lord's power was great among friends, but " the people began to be very rude, *wherefore the governor of the* " *castle sent down soldiers and dispersed them, and after that* " *they were quiet.*" Sewell's Hist. of Quakers, fol. ed. p. 22. " Now though the people began to be very rude, *yet the go-* " *vernor of the castle was so very moderate, that he sent down* " *soldiers to disperse them.*"

The Earle of Essex his armie lay sick about London for recruits; Sir William Waller, after many victories in the west, was at length totally routed, and returned to London, Prince Maurice and Sr. Ralph Hopton having recover'd and possest allmost the whole west of England for the king. The north my Lord Newcastle's armie commanded so fully, that they were advanct into Nottingham and Lincolneshire; and the adjacent counties. The Parliament, being in this low condition, had agreed with Scotland, and entered into a solemne nationall league and covenant, which was taken throughout both kingdomes, and the king had made a cessation of armes with the Irish rebells, and brought over the English armie, that had bene honor'd with so many successes against them, to serve him here; but God never blest his affaires after they came to him,[s] though indeed before their

[s] The parliament and the king seem to have been equally injudicious in seeking resources from without. Rapin says, "the Presbyterians seized the occasion which was offered them "of establishing their system of uniformity, and that it increased "the number of the king's friends;" had he not, through partiality to his sect, withheld a part of the truth, he would have said that, in pursuit of their system of intolerance, they divided the parliament and the friends of liberty, exasperated the army, and having forced them to try their strength against them, caused the subjugation of themselves, and the ruin of their whole cause and party. So much for the league and covenant!

arrivall God had begun to turne the scale; for the citie of Gloucester stopping, by its faithfull and valliant resistance, the carreere of the king's victories, after Bristoll and Exeter and all the west was lost, the king, disdaining to leave it behind him unvanquisht, sate downe before it, which employ'd him and his whole armie, till the Earle of Essex and his recruited armie, assisted with the London auxillaries, came and reliev'd it, and persued the king's armie to an engagement at Newberry, where the parliament obtein'd a greate and bloody victory, and the king for ever lost that opertunity he lately had of marching up to London, and in probability of subduing the parliament. My Lord Newcastle, by a like error, about the same time, setting downe before Hull, mist the opertunity of wholly gaining all those neighbouring counties, and much wasted his greate and victo-

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The king, by seeking the assistance of the Irish in a manner so injurious to the true interest of England, blemished his own fame, hurt his cause, ruined his partizans in both countries, and indeed the Irish nation in general, which has never recovered from the depopulation which took place in consequence of those convulsions.

This last fact has been controverted by one reviewer, the Critical; but would be easy to establish by various arguments, one only is here adduced. The custom of emigrating and entering into the service of foreign powers, which the Irish began to do at that period, and have continued almost to the present day.

rious army, being forc'd to rise with losse and dishonor from the unyielding towne. After the fight at Newberry Sir William Waller, having gotten a new armie, had divers successes with it, and at length totally routed all Hopton's armie, about that time that Prince Rupert raised the siege at Newark, and was the occasion that call'd the prince so hastily out of those counties.

The Earle of Essex persuing the warre, had a designe to block up Oxford, where the king was, and accordingly attempted it, he on one side and Waller on the other; but the king, with a few light horse, escaped out of the towne, and went to ioyne with his greater armies, which being done, Essex marcht farther into the west, and in Cornwall was besieg'd, where he lost all his foote, ammunition, and ordinance, and came dishonorably home to London. Waller unsuccessefully followed the king, and the parliament's affaires, all that summer, were very unprosperous in the west, south, and midland counties, but contrary in the north, where the Scotch armie, under Generall Leven, advanc'd, tooke some townes and forts, and wasted the Earle of Newcastle's armie more by their patient sufferance of the ill weather and martiall toyle, which the English could not so well abide, then by fighting. Sir Thomas Fairfax, having againe taken the field with his father, after

a miraculous victory they had gain'd over the Irish armie[t] which the king had brought over, ioyn'd the Scots; and the Earle of Manchester, having rays'd a force in the associated counties, with which he made an expedition to Lincolne, having Coll. Cromwell for his lieftenant-generall, marcht into Yorkshire, and uniting with the other two armies, they all besieg'd the Earle of Newcastle in Yorke. To rayse this siege, Prince Rupert came with a greate armie out of the south; the besiegers rise to fight with the prince, and Newcastle drew all his force out of Yorke to ioyne with him, when both armies, on a greate plaine call'd Marston Moor, had a bloody encounter, and the Scotts and my lord Fairfaix were wholly routed, and the battle lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restor'd the other routed parliamentarians, and gain'd the most compleate victory that had bene obtein'd in the whole warre.[u] The victors pos-

[t] Commanded by Sir John Biron, or Lord Biron, near Namptwich in Cheshire.

[u] There are various and discordant accounts given of this battle, so that Rapin says he could neither satisfy himself nor his readers with them: that given by Whitelock is however pretty clear, and agrees with this of Mrs. Hutchinson, in ascribing the success principally to Cromwell; and as Mrs. Hutchinson was by no means partial to Cromwell, nor does Whitelock upon the whole seem so, we may better believe them than Hollis, who writes a philippic rather than a history.

sest all the prince's ordinance, carriages, and baggage; whereupon the prince fled, with as many as he could save, back into the south; the Earle of Newcastle, with some of his choyce friends, went into Germany, and left Sr. Thomas Glenham governor of Yorke, which he soone after surrender'd, and then the three generalls parted; Leven went back into the north and tooke the towne of Newcastle, Fairfax remain'd in Yorkshire, and Manchester return'd into the south, by the way taking in many small garrisons as he past through the counties.

The queene that summer went into France, to sollicite forreigne ayd for her husband, but ineffectually; meanewhile new treaties were carried on betweene the king and parliament, but to no purpose; for the king's false dealing and disingenuity therein was so apparent that they came to nothing, but a further discovery of the king's falsehood, and favour of the Irish rebells, with whom he now employ'd Ormond to treate and conclude a peace. This treaty was that at Uxbridge, where commissioners mett on both sides, but effected nothing; for the parliament itselfe began to grow into two apparent factions of Presbyterians and Independents, and the king had hope, by their divisions, to prevaile for the accomplishment of his owne ends.*

* Whoever will take the pains to read the King's letters in

It was too apparent how much the whole parliament cause had bene often hazarded, how many opertunities of finishing the warre had bene overslipt by the Earle of Essex his armie, and believ'd that he himselfe, with his commanders, rather endeavoured to become arbiters of warre and peace, then conquerors for the parliament, for it was knowne that he had given out such expressions: wherefore those in the parliament, who were griev'd at the preiudice of the publick interest, and loath to bring those men to publick shame, who had once well merited of them, deviz'd to new model the armie, and an ordinance, was made, call'd the self-denying ordinance, whereby all members of parliament, of both houses, were discharg'd of their commands in the armie. Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, surrendered their commissions, and Sr. Thomas Fairfax was made generall of the new-modell'd armie, Cromwell lieftenant-generall, and Skippon maior-generall. The armie was reduc'd to twenty-one thousand, who prosecuted the warre not with designe of gaine and making it their trade, but to obteine a righteous peace and settlement to the distracted king-

Clarendon's State Papers will see that this is a true representation of his sentiments; but Heylin pretends the failure of the treaty arose from the extreme pertinacity of the rigid Presbyterians; we may very well allow both their share.

dome, and accordingly it succeeded in their hands. [y]

[y] It is suggested by Rapin and others that this new model and self-denying ordinance arose not from the motives here set down, but merely from intrigue; yet Whitelock, who even spoke against it, p. 123, shews the indispensible necessity for such a new model. "Some members of the house were sent "to their generals to complain of their remissness. The Earle "of Manchester was under a kind of accusation, the lord ge- "neral in discontent, Waller not much otherwise, the forces "not carefully ordered, and the parliament business in an un- "settled condition, so that it was high time for some other "course to be taken by them." Mr. Sprigge demonstrates this more fully. He says, "Cromwell was absent in the west "when the exemption was voted; that he had come to Windsor "over night to kiss the general's hand and take his leave on "quitting the service, but the following morning, ere he came "forth of his chamber, those commands, than which he thought "of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the com- "mittee of both kingdoms, in obedience to which he imme- "diately marcht away." And further, "that the house did "this for their own happiness and that of their general Fairfax."

Mrs. Hutchinson was sufficiently observant of Cromwell's artifices to have accused him of it on this occasion, if he had deserved it.

END OF VOL. I.

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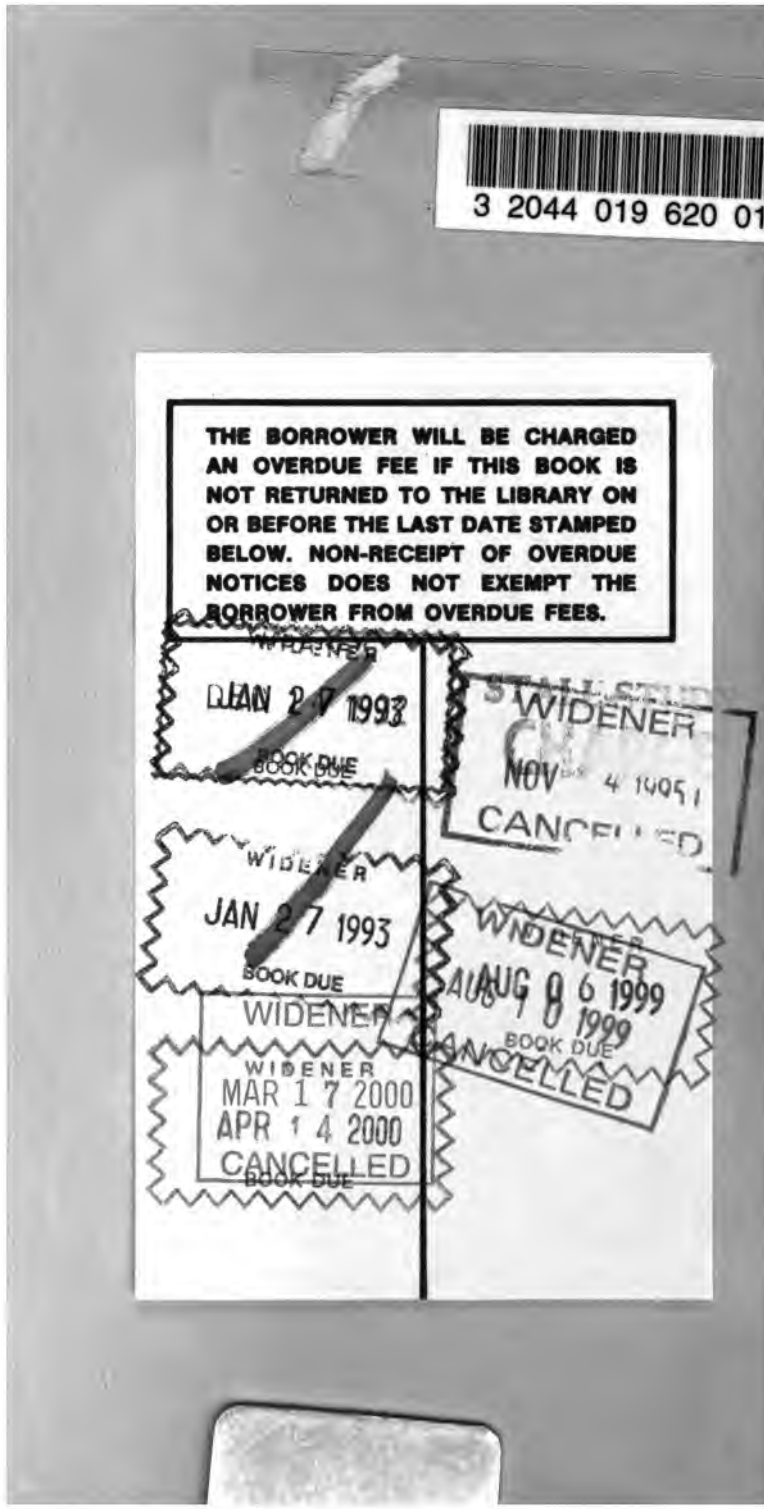
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